California Political Review's expert ballot measure description and analysis *by Dan Brennan* 25

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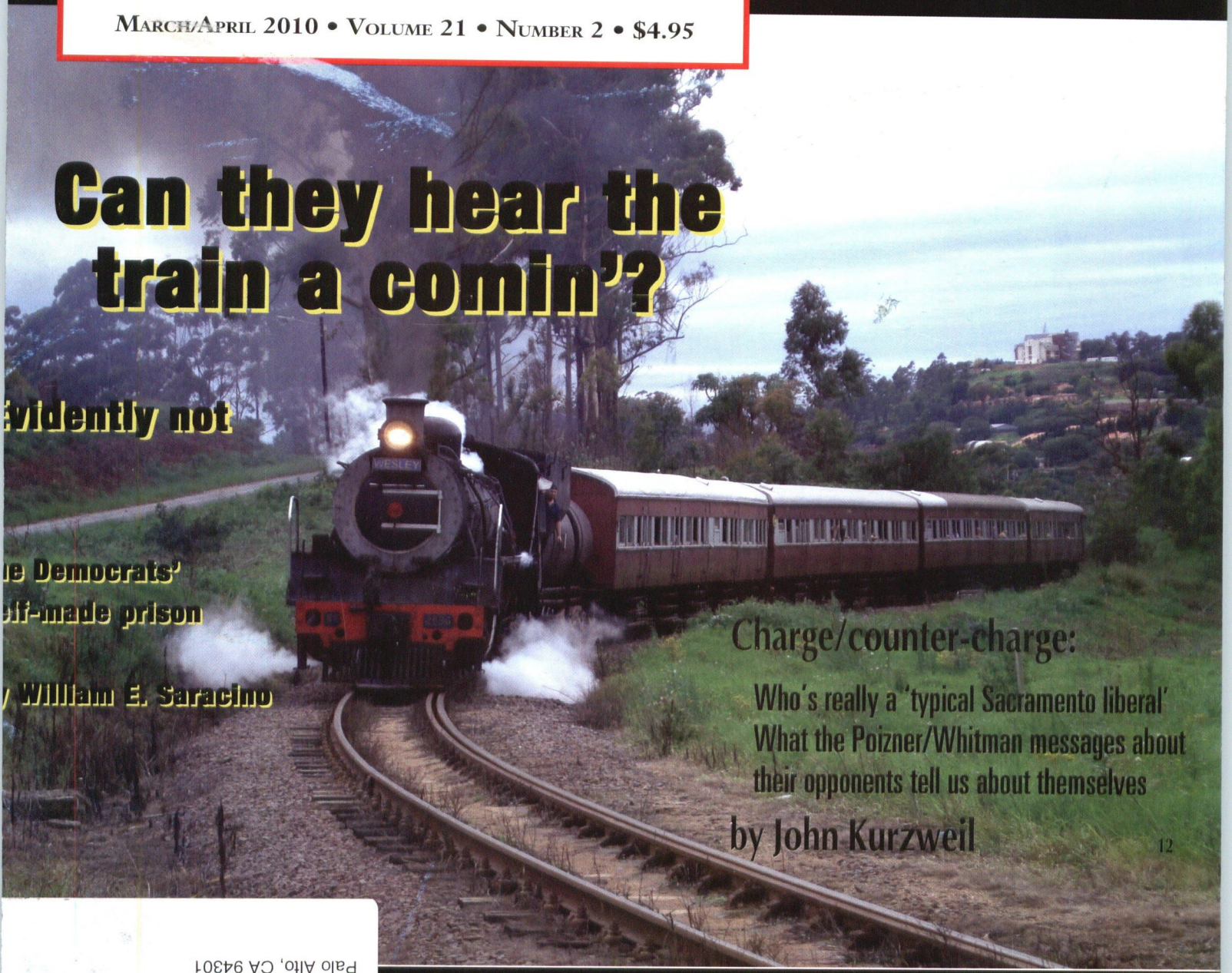
Remembering Jerry Brown as governor

The lessons of Brown's first term
Installment one: Brown and Ag Labor Law

M. David Stirling 15



Can they hear the train a comin'?

…vidently not

…e Democrats' …elf-made prison

… William E. Saracino

Charge/counter-charge:

Who's really a 'typical Sacramento liberal'
What the Poizner/Whitman messages about their opponents tell us about themselves

by John Kurzweil 12

Ron Keeva Unz
555 Bryant St #371
Palo Alto, CA 94301

…ealth Care in a Starbucks line
…amaCare and the 'Free Lunch' myth
Ted Archer 28

A Politically Incorrect Robin Hood
Film: *A new take on the bandit of Sherwood*
Reviewed by Eldon Quick 31

The First Terrorist
Books: *Icon of Evil*
Reviewed by Denis J. Norrington 33

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An Opening for Common Sense

CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
REVIEW
Your water crisis is not our problem
The ACLU Police State
The Great 2010
Corner Office Sweepstakes
An early look at California's Leading GOP Gubernatorial Candidates
Meg Whitman
In the Spirit of Walter Knott
Going part-time?
CALIFORNIA★POLITICAL
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California Under Governor Jerry Brown
William E. Saracino, Jonathon Coupal, Sam Paredes, John Eastman, Gregory Sanford, Diana Langdon, John Kurzweil, The Brown for Governor 2010 Exploratory Committee

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— Irving Kristol

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REVIEW

MARCH / APRIL 2010 • VOLUME 21 • NUMBER 2

FEATURES

Can they hear the train a comin'? Evidently not. By William E. Saracino 20
The Democrats' self-made prison.
The Democrat Party is stuck in a Folsom Prison whose confining walls and bars are constructed of their far-left ideology.

Remembering Jerry Brown as governor By M. David Stirling 15
The lessons of Brown's first term — Should history be learned from or repeated?
Installment One: Brown and the Agricultural Labor Law.

Charge/Counter-Charge By John Kurzweil 12
Who's *really* 'just another Sacramento liberal politician'?
What the Poizner/Whitman messages about their opponents tell us about themselves.

Health care in a Starbucks Line By Ted Archer 28
ObamaCare and the 'Free Lunch' myth: If a thing is paid for by somebody else, people will demand more of it — Econ. 1

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence *CPR's* erudite readers 2

Sacramento Spectator A.P.C. 3

The Law By Timothy Sandefur 4
A new gun law ruling may reach far beyond the 2nd Amendment.

Facts on Gun Control By Sam Paredes 6
Controls imposed for one, sole reason: to prepare for confiscation.

A Closer Look By Mike Fredenburg 7
Backward Christian Soldiers? — The Incredible Shrinking Church

ARTS & CULTURE

Film 31
A Politically Incorrect Robin Hood: Three cheers for Ridley Scott's latest version of the hero of Sherwood, by Eldon Quick

Books 34
Icon of Evil: Hitler's mufti and the Rise of Radical Islam
by David G. Dalin and John F. Rothmann,
reviewed by Denis Norrington

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Magic Phrase: Gettysburg

Does everyone over 50 make these same connections with history? ("Great Moments – A long over-due restoration comes to Main Street," *First Things,* by John Kurzweil, *CPR,* March/April 2010.) The name "Gettysburg" stands out for me because my maternal great-grandmother *heard* the 1863 Civil War battle from her home as a young child. The southern troops swept through the countryside for supplies and stole her family's horses and shot her pony, even though it wasn't useful to them. She later told this to her five children; she was apparently bitter about the injustice for the rest of her 92-year life.

Before I was 10 years old, my family and I heard the "Great Moments" presentation many times because my father's visiting New England business associates insisted upon seeing the new, famous Disneyland. After a few visits, I hardly listened or didn't go inside the Main Street attraction. (I always wished my extra "A" tickets were "E" ones, instead.)

Yet the presentation – theatrical lighting, resonant voice recording – unmistakably conveyed (to this child) the solemnity and significance of those historical "moments." The address confronted me again, at age 10, when my family visited the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., And a few years later, there it was again: I was listening to my friend Kitty on the school bus as she recited "Four score ...." from memory for a seventh grade history assignment.

Years later, the exhibit was modified and then eliminated altogether – until recently. With policy decisions heading in a destructive, wrong direction since November 2008, our country is waking up to savor and restore our historic spirit of freedom and equality. Unlike previous, famous "celebrities" featured in various rides/exhibits at Disneyland through the years, Lincoln's words will never go out of fashion.

Sheila McLarnan
Los Angeles

The Silent Scream

The cover of the January/February 2010 CPR is hilarious... and perfect! I just got it, and will delve into it this weekend. Thanks for the laugh!

Jim Kruse
Santa Ana

Suspend AB 32

I'd like to alert California Political Review's readers about an important initiative headed for the November ballot. If passed, it would suspend the implementation of greenhouse gas regulation — AB 32 — alleged to cause global warming until California's unemployment rate drops below 5.5 percent.

Please go to the following site to learn more and to help suspend CARB (California Air Resources Board) implementation of AB 32 - California's CO2 Emissions reduction law. *http://www.killcarb.org/2010031701-petition.html*

Geoffrey Vanden Heuvel
Chino

(Please turn to page 11)

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

There's something in the air in your state's capitol, and I don't mean pollen, though there is plenty of that. There is a palpable sense that much of the "old order" may be about to end, both in D.C. and in the 'Tomato.

Sacramento is a town of poseurs every election year — incumbents, challengers, lobbyists, and consultants, all spinning more frantically than any gyroscope. You can't walk a block without hearing "I'm going to win; you'd better get on board," or "Candidate X is a sure loser; don't let your PAC get suckered into supporting him," or the ever popular "I have a long memory." All that's SOP up here.

What's different now is the undercurrent of concern on the part of the Democrats and their bosses in the public employee unions. The chic salons (and very unchic saloons) at which I *Spectate* are good places to escape the spin and, abetted by an adult beverage or five or six, find out what the political operatives up here really think. What they think at the moment is (1) the Democrat congressional majority will be wiped out, either in reality or effectively and (2) the GOP rising tide nationwide, while it certainly won't hand the GOP control of the Legislature, could elect a GOP governor, senator, and a slew of constitutional officers.

You will certainly not hear a Democrat say this publicly, but such sentiments are ubiquitous after hours when the donkey party's operatives mingle and talk candidly, without knowing (of course) that yours truly is eavesdropping. Sacramento Democrats worry about many things these days: that a well-publicized rout of

Democrats in congressional races nationally will depress their base and hence dry up their voter turnout in California; that Jerry Brown, version 14.5 or whichever appears after the primary, is just too old and too shopworn to compete with either Whitman or Poizner and could potentially be beaten in a landslide; that such a landslide, along with her own inherent weaknesses, will cause Barbara Boxer to lose to any of the three GOP candidates; and that all of the above will send all or most of the statewide donkey party ticket down to defeat.

What is striking to your *Spectator* is that these sentiments are coming from Democrats. I know the look and sound of fear in politicians – it shrouds many informed Democrat operatives up here like the winter fog so often does to Interstate-5. I am not predicting such disaster for the Democrats (though it would make my day, week, month, and year). Rather, I merely report that this defeatism exists and is spreading, six months before the election.

The message this ought to send to California Republicans is that this is the year to nominate your best, which, in my book, means the conservative slate for all offices. Like 1994, this is the year when Republicans who might otherwise lose are going to beat Democrats large and small. There is no need to temporize or vote for your second choice.

Simply put, Republicans: this is the year your first choice can win — but only if nominated. California Republican voters would be making a mistake of historic proportions if they did not vote their consciences. And that means voting for the conservative primary candidate, up and down the ballot.

The Democrats are looking toward November with fear and loathing. GOP voters are in a position to give them something *really* to be frightened of.

— *A.P.C.*

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The Law

Fourteenth Amendment covers Second's back

An upcoming ruling on a high-profile Chicago gun ban may reach far beyond the Second Amendment.

TIMOTHY SANDEFUR

A HIGH-PROFILE case now at the Supreme Court targets Chicago's handgun ban. But while gun-owners' rights are at issue, the case might prove even more important for the nation's entrepreneurs and the principles of free enterprise, depending on how the court rules.

Two years ago, a majority of the justices held for the first time that the Second Amendment protects an individual right to "keep and bear arms." Now, in *McDonald v. Chicago,* the court will decide whether the Second Amendment applies to states and localities as well as the federal government.

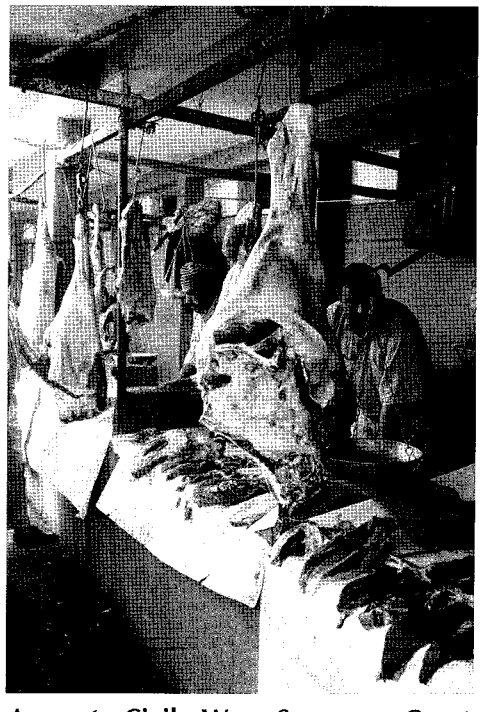
But the decision could have broader implications: the justices are being asked to revisit a century-old precedent that severely curtailed constitutional protections for the fundamental right to earn an honest living and operate a business without unreasonable regulatory constraints.

In the years following the Civil War, the Constitution was amended to require states to respect the rights of all Americans, regardless of race. The 14th Amendment declared, among other things, that states could not "abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Correctly interpreted, these "privileges or immunities" include the freedom to engage in free enterprise.

But in 1873, in its first decision interpreting this language, the Supreme Court essentially rendered it meaningless. Although the amendment's authors said that the Fourteenth would protect the rights "recognized by the common law in the Constitution of the United States, in the constitutions of the different States, [and] in the Declaration of Independence," the court disagreed. It held that the term "privileges or immunities" protected only a very narrow set of freedoms, essentially imposing few limits on arbitrary government actions.

The ruling is known as the Slaughterhouse Case, because it involved a group of New Orleans butchers who challenged the constitutionality of a law restricting their right to slaughter cattle. All slaughtering was ordered to be done at a single, privately-owned company designated by the state. Overnight, hundreds of butcher-shop owners found themselves out of business. It's as if the state of California declared that all cars in Los Angeles had to be repaired at Jiffy Lube — shutting down every other auto shop.

In their legal challenge, the butchers argued that this state favoritism toward a competing company deprived them of their "privileges or immunities." Courts had recognized rights against unjust business regulations of since at least 1602, when Eng-



A post Civil War Supreme Court deprived certain butcher shops of their property rights in the Slaughterhouse Case. A new ruling this year may correct this more than century-old mistake for all businesses.

Timothy Sandefur is a principal attorney with Pacific Legal Foundation.

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Founded in 1927, the Mission Statement of the Americanism Educational League states its purpose simply: "To instill citizenship and patriotism in America's youth." Shouldn't you be helping?

The Americanism Educational League was founded in 1927 by a group of businessmen who were troubled by the spread of communism, fascism, and totalitarianism in Europe and Russia. Founders, led by Walter Knott of Knott's Berry Farm, believed that to preserve and promote our country's future we must educate America's young people about the political, social and economic values that make America free and strong. Since 1927 AEL's mission has remained the same, to instill citizenship and patriotism in America's youth.

During the 1930s and '40s, AEL focused on political ideologies at war not only with America but with the entirety of the free world. During the Cold War, AEL concentrated on exposing the myths and weaknesses of Communism. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, AEL has continued to educate our youth about core American values and history.

AEL programs – all provided free of charge to schools, students and teachers – include a DVD lending library, essay and investigative journalism awards, an outstanding teacher award (for high school level American history teachers), a young entrepreneur award, a first job interview project, collegiate level debates, a student citizenship award, and many others. You can find a complete list and description at their website: *www.americanism.org.*

President Ronald Reagan often spoke of America as a "shining city on the hill." The Trustees and supporters of AEL firmly believe that by continuing to instill patriotism and citizenship in our young people, we will ensure that the promise and hope of America continues to shine far into the future. *California Political Review* readers are invited to help AEL with this most important task. Thank you.

Americanism Educational League
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land's highest court declared that monopolies were illegal under the Magna Carta. But the Louisiana butchers didn't fare as well. In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court declared that the 14th Amendment did not protect businessmen from regulatory abuse by their own states.

THE IMPLICATIONS were profound. In post-Civil War America, southern states were routinely violating the rights of recently freed slaves, enacting laws that subverted not only the right to earn a living, but freedom of speech, freedom of travel, and the right to possess firearms. The Slaughter-House decision gave states and localities wide berth to curtail freedoms, and it would be another century before the federal government put serious effort into ending state abuses.

In the second half of the 20th century, courts did begin to champion civil rights, but they did so by relying on other constitutional provisions. The "privileges or immunities" clause was allowed to remain dormant — along with the protections it should extend to economic freedom. Even today, courts often refuse to provide any but the most cursory protection for the rights of business owners. Instead, lawmakers are generally free to impose all but the most irrational limits on the freedom to buy, sell, trade, work, or create wealth.

The gun-rights case carries the potential for fundamental change. The attorneys for the gun owners argue that states and local governments should be required to respect the right to keep and bear arms because this is one of the "privileges or immunities" protected by the Constitution.

If the Court agrees, and overrules its 1873 decision, we could see a new level of protection for constitutional freedoms of all sorts: not just gun rights, but the right of business owners and entrepreneurs to be free of harassment and anti-competitive conduct by state governments. It is long past time that the 14th Amendment was given its true and full meaning — and that courts extended full protection to the right of all Americans to earn a living without unfair government interference. CPR

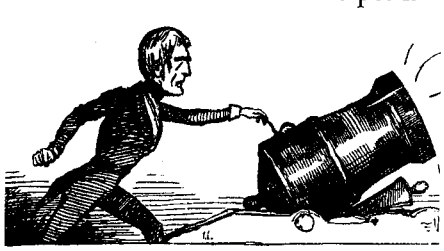
WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

What do Nazi Germany, the former Soviet Union, communist China, and California have in common? Well, first: none of these places suffered from serious firearms' crime problems before the ruling elites took power. Second: each imposed gun registration anyway to serve the eventual purpose of taking guns away.

But you object: they can't do that in the Golden State; we have the Second Amendment. And — so? When have fanatical radicals ever given a rip about 200-(plus)-year-old parchments if they found them inexpedient in achieving their aims? Unfortunately those fanatical leftists are in charge of our state Legislature. They know their behinds were handed to them in 2008 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (in *Heller v. D.C.*) that the Second Amendment protects an individual, personal right. They know that the same high court will soon rule on *McDonald v. Chicago* and is fully expected then to incorporate *Heller* to cover state and local governments' attempts to infringe Second Amendment rights. Yes, they know ... and they don't care!

Assemblyman Mike Feuer (D-Los Angeles), author of AB 1810 (which calls for the registration of all rifles and shotguns) from now on and into the future, is one of these radicals. He is undaunted by the prospect of having a mere court of law clean his clock on his pet issue yet again. He will push the issue in every direction, determined to get away with everything he can, then continue to pose as the fearless champion of left-wing salvation through depriving people of their ability to defend themselves. He knows that always plays well in certain circles where he can do well for himself.



Gun crimes are down in California and the vast majority of those committed are connected to gang activities, so it doesn't make sense to institute long gun registration. (Canada, by the way, a country with a slightly lower population than California, is close to dumping its $2 billion long gun registration program because it's proven useless in fighting or preventing crime.

The sole purpose of gun registration *per se* is to establish where the guns are when the chance comes to take them away. CPR

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California.

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A Closer Look

The Incredible Shrinking Church

Christian Leaders relinquished both their social influence and the moral high ground to secularists.

MICHAEL S. FREDENBURG

We tried to defend the unborn child, the dignity of the family, but it was a holding action. We are awash in evil and the battle is still to be waged. We are right now in the most discouraging period of that long conflict. Humanly speaking, we can say we have lost all those battles.

— Dr. James Dobson March 3, 2009, in his farewell speech as president of Focus on the Family.

Those who have heard Dr. Dobson speak over the last couple of decades know that his last speech as head of Focus on the Family was much in line with many other speeches he has given in the past 20 years: not exactly filled with optimism. Still, Dr. Dobson's pessimism is understandable as he has been on the forefront of trying to protect and help children for most of his life, and his heart must be broken by the devastation he sees being visited on children by our society.

Anyone not living the life of an ostrich is familiar with at least some of the statistics documenting the decay in cultural values and rise of negative and destructive behavior among all sectors of the population, but by themselves the statistics cannot adequately convey the depths to which our culture has sunk. A 2006 New York magazine article, "The Cuddle Puddle of Stuyvesant High School," documents is some detail what those who work in high schools know to be true. It describes groups of teenagers getting together at lunch time to hook up for same sex, cuddling, and kissing as a precursor to more intimate after school activity. The article goes into much more detail and, sadly, what it documents is not isolated to this one particular school. Indeed, it is estimated that now more than 600 homosexual "Support" clubs exist at high schools throughout the United States.

The explosion in homosexual experimentation is mirrored by the explosion in premarital heterosexual activity as reflected by the astronomical rates of sexually transmitted diseases (STD) among teenagers. A Centers for Disease Control study released March 11, 2008, found that one in four teenage girls have a sexually transmitted disease. The two common STDs infecting teenage girls are human papillomavirus, or HPV (18 percent), and chlamydia (4 percent), both of which have serious long-term health consequences.

Of course the assault on the value of life continues with publicly-funded abortion through all nine months now having been the law of the land for more than 35 years. On the other end of the spectrum of life, we see support growing in the general population for euthanasia with state-sanctioned euthanasia now legal in Washington and Oregon. Other states, including California, seem ripe for the passage of similar legislation.

The devastating impact of fatherless households on children and women is well-documented and has been particularly devastating in the black community. However, all communities and ethnicities are increasingly being affected by rising rates of out of wedlock births and absentee fathers. That the culture is in a negative downward spiral seems inarguable.

The deteriorating culture hurts everyone, but it disproportionately impacts children, women, and, especially, fatherless children. So where has the church been in all of this? Sadly the answer is, for the most part (despite over publicized examples to the contrary), that the church, particularly the evangelical church, has been

Michael S. Fredenburg is a conservative writer and political activist living in the San Diego area.

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pretty much absent from the battle over public policy. It is abundantly clear that most evangelical church leaders are uncomfortable about taking a leadership role on tough, controversial issues, such as homosexuality.

Sure we can point to the Christian Coalition and the Moral Majority as examples of evangelicals trying to affect public policy, but even in their heyday the people actually engaged in doing the work were never more than a tiny fraction of the evangelical church. Today the evangelical church has no effective, organized effort to influence public policy. Has the church always been so impotent?

The answer is no. The complete dominance of secular humanism in the public arena that we see today did not happen overnight. What we observe today is the result of many decades of the secular humanists having free reign in public education and having almost complete control of our universities and popular culture. It was not always this way. From the founding of our country up through the early part of the 20th century, Christians were involved in all aspects of society with no boundaries on their involvement. Christians were university professors, politicians, scientists, and teachers at all levels. They were involved with and influenced society, confident that the truths in the Bible regarding the nature of mankind formed a solid foundation for good public policy, good science, and most importantly good pedagogy. Churches were at the political, religious, and cultural center of their communities. They were genuine communities. Today, some churches still fit this model, most notably some inner city black churches and some Catholic churches.

So despite what we see today, for most of the history of the United States churches played a central role in the formation of public policy, but that began change in the 1920s. As was the case throughout the history of the United States, in the 1920s Christian values and principles were the status quo. So when a movement that had been gaining influence over the previous 50 years (secular humanism) began to flex its muscles, the Christian community was caught off guard. Not only was the church caught off guard, but it was ultimately embarrassed when the apologists of secular humanism unleashed a series of arguments that, while not particularly brilliant, were enough to embarrass a Christian establishment not used to having to give a rigorous defense of itself or its faith.

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Suddenly, the orthodox protestant church found itself under attack from all quarters. Even as William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow were making history and headlines with the "Scopes Monkey Trial," the evangelical/protestant church found itself under attack from within, as factions within traditionally conservative protestant denominations such as the Baptists and the Presbyterians began publicly questioning even the deity of Jesus and the inerrancy of the Bible.

Probably the two most influential of the modernist/liberal Christians were Baptist Ministers Walter Rauschenbusch and Harry Emerson Fosdick. Both Rauschenbusch and Fosdick rejected orthodox Christianity and emphasized a social gospel in which humans transformed the earth to be more heaven-like through good works. In their theology of the social gospel, good works displaced the gospel of salvation through grace. In 1921, Fosdick delivered his famous sermon "Shall the Fundamentalist Win?" This sermon was eventually distributed nationwide in a mass mail program funded by none other than John D. Rockefeller — father of Nelson Rockefeller of Rockefeller Republicanism fame. Apparently the apple really does not fall far from the tree.

The modernists did not believe in special creation, did not believe the Bible was the word of God, and did not believe Jesus was God. However the modernists did believe in social justice.

If the orthodox believers (the fundamentalists) of the time had been a little wiser and little less reactionary, perhaps things would have turned out differently. Instead, in their zeal to discredit Fosdick, Rauschenbusch, and other modernists, the fundamentalists made the classic mistake of throwing the baby out with the bath water. Yes, Fosdick and Rauschenbusch were heretics, yet what they were saying about the Christian responsibility to social justice was not heretical. On the contrary, it is well established within mainstream Christian tradition. For example, William Wilberforce's life-long battle to eliminate slavery was waged in the political arena as a Christian politician.

However, the fundamentalists were not in the mood to reason or look to church history and decided that since social justice often intersects with politics it could be a distraction from the primary mission of spreading out the good news of Jesus Christ. Taking it further, the fundamentalists also saw involvement in the secular/liberal universities as being unnecessary worldly entanglements. Soured by their confrontation with the "science" of the "Scopes Monkey Trials," the fundamentalists decided it was also a waste of time for Christians to be involved with science. Who needs science and the natural revelation it provides when you have the special revelation of the Bible?

Historian Edward Larson notes that "as a result of the Scopes trial ... fundamentalists responded by withdrawing. They did not abandon their faith, however, but set about constructing a separate subculture with independent religious, educational, and social institutions."

The mistakes made in the 1920s by Christian Leaders were legion and had huge consequences of which we are only now beginning to feel the full effect. Not only did they relinquish control and influence over many critical societal institutions, but they compounded the damage by ceding the moral high ground to the secular humanists on important social issues such as racism. It should be noted that the Catholic Church was not affected nearly as much by the modernist/fundamentalist split and remained engaged in the battles for social justice while still presenting the true Gospel.

By the late 1940s some fundamentalists, at least in part, were rejecting the separatism of their brethren, preferring to identify themselves as evangelicals. Billy Graham himself was part of this movement. So thankfully today, the evangelical church understands that feeding the poor and helping widows and orphans in their distress not only plays an important part in communicating the Gospel message, but is just the right thing to do. However, it could be argued that Evangelical Christians and, to a lesser extent, Catholic Christians still suffer from a narrow interpretation James' (Jesus' brother) admonition that helping your fellow man means more than sending them on their way with a prayer.

No doubt the church could be more involved in influencing public policy, but the Church's long hiatus from such influence has had consequences. Even if through some miracle the Church as a whole were to start encouraging its members reengage in the political process in a coordinated and sustained fashion, the Church would find its efforts to do so vehemently opposed by the current power structure that sees man at the center, not God.

The secular humanists have no intention of relinquishing their hold on societal institutions; and due to

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the long absence of the church from the public arena they have had a free hand to put in place significant barriers to the Church becoming more active. With their control of public schools and the public airwaves, the secular humanists have rewritten history to convince a large portion of the population that there is and should be a "strict wall of separation" between church and state — myth that even many Christians have come to believe. Many Christians have been so indoctrinated they now think that bringing their Christian values to the political arena is the equivalent of trying to force people to become Christians. They compare it subconsciously to another hoary myth — that the Crusades were a forced Christianizing enterprise (See: California Political Review Online's publication "What Really Brought About the Crusades," by John Henry Newman, at www.cppf.us), and that now they would be behaving like modern berserk Crusaders using the political process rather than swords and siege engines to enforce their faith.

ANOTHER BARRIER to church participation in influencing public policy is the tax code and the threat of losing the church's tax-exempt status. This is not a small issue. Churches are significant financial entities that collectively carry billions of dollars in obligations that must be met each and every month, obligations that depend on the flow of tax exempt charitable donations to meet them.

Under current tax code, a church that allows a pro-life, pro-traditional marriage candidate to speak to the congregation must also allow his pro-abortion, anti-marriage opponent to speak as well. Even excluding the ideological aspect, the same church would be obligated to allow candidates to speak that obviously are fringy and or have zero chance of winning. Finally, after all the speaking is done, the Church is prohibited from endorsing a candidate. Understandably, these restrictions significantly limit the ability and the desire of the church to participate in candidate politics.

However, on issues politics such as initiatives and referenda, churches have much more freedom to participate, even though they rarely do. The vague threat of running afoul of the IRS is certainly one reason. However, another reason many evangelical churches shy away from being involved with controversial issues is the desire to be "seeker friendly." Under this doctrine, the idea is to make church services as non-threatening and welcoming as possible. Taking on controversial issues like homosexual indoctrination in the public schools could stop a seeker from coming to church. Sure the issue may be important, but its importance pales next to the importance of the seeker coming into the church sanctuary to hear the good news of life eternal through Jesus Christ.

With church leaders seemingly content to stay in the box that the rulers of this world have designated for them, it does look pretty hopeless from a human perspective. However, with God all things are possible and a revival could turn things around. In the meantime as we continue to fight the good fight here are some questions we can ask ourselves and perhaps even the leaders of our own local churches:

Is it a mere coincidence that the evangelical church has seemingly come up with Biblical arguments and rationales that seem to agree 100 percent with the IRS as to the level of political involvement that is appropriate for the Church?

Can God actually still work in the life of someone who is genuinely seeking Jesus, but is turned off from going to a particular church service when they learn that the church is taking a firm public stance on some issue that opposes the seeker's position?

When Christians are reviled and mocked because they take a strong stance on issues such as abortion or the family, does that mean they necessarily were doing so in an uncompassionate and/or stupid way? Or is it just possible that maybe when evil is confronted, that it strikes back — sometimes even with lies?

Is it coincidental that the Church becomes excited about the ministries the world gives its blessings for — housing the homeless or feeding the hungry — but is decidedly unexcited about the ministries the world labels "mean-spirited" and uncompassionate?

Is it just possible that James's warning about the hypocrisy of a faith that sends a hungry person away with a prayer but no food, might possibly be stretched to include standing idly by while your neighbors' child is being indoctrinated, counseled, and encouraged with our own tax dollars to engage in homosexual behavior?

Does the church have the responsibility to try to protect all the children in society, or just the ones fortunate enough to be able to attend the local Christian school?

Can Jesus still save people even when the Church is on the forefront of dealing with tough controversial issues?

Is it possible that being overly concerned about be-

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ing seeker friendly is effectively questioning God's sovereignty?

No political solution can be crafted to reverse this general decline. Without the support of a moral and good electorate, true conservatism will not be able to win any kind of lasting victory and the slide downward will continue. Without the Church playing its proper role, a good and moral society is not possible. So as you fight the good fight in the political arena, do not forget to pray for a revival that leads to a Church more concerned about obeying God and doing right than it is about its tax exempt donations. CPR

Correspondence

(Continued from page 2)

ESA Extremism

Apropos M. Davie Stirling's "The Endangered Species Act: the 800-pound gorilla no one dares call to account" (*CPR*, January/February 2010): a federal judge in Fresno says he may re-consider the idiotically draconian water-dumping rules he handed down some time ago (under the indefensibly one-sided enforcement regime established for the national Endangered Species Act) that already have half destroyed much of California's rich agricultural wealth and tradition and forced ordinary Californians up and down the state, absurdly, to ration a comodity that is in plentiful supply.

Now, I suppose (if the judge actually acts as he says he is inclined to do) we will have to fight up and down the state to rid ourselves of 10 thousand hasitily-imposed rationing regimes, extra high water prices, and so forth (what the government once sets up it is forever loath to take down) just to get back to normal. The reaction of the so-called "environmentsalist" community? An explosion of whining that more reveals their true hate-people motivation than anything else.

Here's a sample: "'Other countries' have it figured out. They have deserts, they just do not live there. Why should we send water to a desert, to support an area that is arid, and not self-sustaining. The salmon are just the tip of the iceberg. It would be easier to limit the number of offspring humans make, to 2, ZPG (zero population growth) but that might offend someone and infringe on their rights, so let's just kill off the environment and everything in it so you can have your water, which is bought and sold like a commodity. We have a lot to learn people." (Popular Comments, Sacramento Bee website, http://www.sacbee.com/2010/05/20/2763550/federal-judge-might-revise-california.html).

Fine, Stalinist hate speech if ever I've read it. The people of California should wake up to the truth that a lot of what goes under the heading "environmentalism" is really this sort of dangerous, extremist thinking, and be a lot more careful with regard to the organizations and individuals to whom we lend our financial and political support.

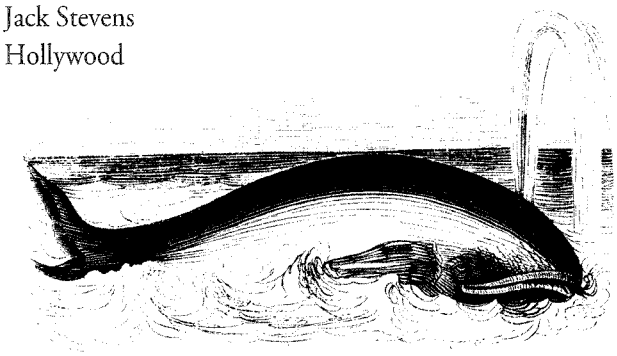
Franklin Joseph
Los Angeles

Sacramento Spectator (CPR, Jan./Feb. 2010) once again offers his brilliant insights, not that they are never easily spotted by anyone familiar with the Democrats' always scorched-earth mentality: "Listen to [the Democrats] weep and you will learn that not a single dollar can be cut from the budget, not a single state employee can be fired, laid off, or even furloughed, so the only hope for balancing the budget is ... all together now ... tax increases."

The great Russian writer Alexander Solshenitsyn once pointed out (I paraphrase, not recalling his exact words) that "Marxism seeks to dissect and understand the intricate, delicate workings of the human mind and spirit using a meat ax." And the hard left is at it still. It recalls Ronald Reagan's insight into leftism — that, despite all the bluster and noise that accompanies it (which convinces too many people that it is a strong thing to be feared), leftism is really almost laughably weak. It relies upon fear and deceit, never hallmarks of anything possessing real strength.

It also recalls Lincoln's admonition that we ourselves will aways be the authors of our fate, that America is destined to live forever or perish, if at all, by suicide.

Jack Stevens
Hollywood



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Charge/counter-charge:

Who's really 'just another Sacramento liberal politician'? What the Poizner/Whitman messages about their opponents tell us about themselves

by John Kurzweil

"Oh come on now. Don't be naive, lieutenant. We both know how careers are made. Integrity is something you sell the public."
— political fixer Walter Chalmers (Robert Vaughn)
"You sell whatever want, but don't sell it here tonight."
— San Francisco Police Detective Frank Bullitt (Steve McQueen)
"We all must comprise."— Chalmers
*"Bulls**t. Get the H*** out of here — now."*
— Bullitt (Steve McQueen)
— Warner Bros. film: Bullitt, *1968.*

A lot of readers have been interested in hearing "substantial issues" that separate GOP California gubernatorial candidate Insurance Commissioner Steve Poizner and former eBay CEO Meg Whitman. The issue I nominate is integrity, the issue politely discussed between political fixer Walter Chalmers and San Francisco Police Detective Frank Bullitt in the exchange recorded above. This issue is always key, in my estimation, in any election but especially in an era of deep-seated voter mistrust of both Parties to deliver on their promises. The public is tired of being "sold" integrity and wants — is finally really demanding— the genuine article. This is not a pipe dream. Voters believe, rightly, that they received genuine integrity from Ronald Reagan when he ran for office; they believe they get it now from California Congressman Tom McClintock.: simply put it is a well-earned faith in the words voters' hear from their candidates, faith that they are not just words but firm, reliable promises that will, to the greatest extent possible, be fulfilled.

Voters' loss of faith in the "Republican" brand can be traced precisely to the massive disappointment that followed President George H.W. Bush's failure to keep his words: "Read my lips; no

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new taxes." The next critical blow came when the Gingrich Contract with America Congressional majority failed to impose congressional term limits. In California, where Arnold Schwarzenegger has to check in the mirror every few minutes to see which set of bald-faced lies, handy rationalizations, and convenient half-truths he will act on next, the destruction of faith in GOP office-holder integrity has reached a level of nearly comic absurdity. A Republican who wants to receive a majority of the California statewide vote today must overcome a massive refusal to believe anything he says. So — back to my initial point — which candidate (if either): Poizner or Whitman exhibits genuine integrity and which of them (again, if either) shows what has become the disposable Republican brand?

I propose to examine their competing campaigns with this question in mind. Whitman is currently embarked on a furious effort to prove Poizner is no more than "just another liberal Sacramento politician." Her campaign can almost be encapsulated in its endlessly-repeated charge that Poizner contributed $10,000 to Democrat former Vice President Al Gore during his 2000 run for president. The charge, it turns out, is simply false. Asked about the contribution, candidate Poizner has always answered straightforwardly that his Democrat wife, not he, made the donation to Gore, that, in fact, he voted for George Bush for president both times the former president was on the ballot and that "I've only voted for Republicans. I've only supported Republicans." (emphasis added) For a recent example, Mr. Poizner told delegates to the 2010 CRA convention simply that:

"I am married to a Democrat; we have a family check book; I wrote the check," but the money went because Mrs. Poizner wanted the donation made. Moreover, Poizner served in the Bush White House as the director of Critical Infrastructure Protection in the National Security Council. Anyone in the least familiar with the workings of Bush White Houses knows that the fastest way to be ejected physically and post haste is to cross the boss politically. A large donor to Al Gore might get in under extraordinary circumstances but it is highly unlikely.

Meg Whitman's campaign never references this disclaimer in any way, nor does she acknowledges that, according to his own account, while Poizner was voting and working for George W. Bush, she was endorsing and working for both Al Gore and far-left Democrat Senator Barbara Boxer. According to *Cox News Service,* September 14, 2000, "Gore supporters already include such chief executives as Eric Schmidt of Novell, Steve Jobs of Apple Computer and Meg Whitman of eBay." (emphasis added) (Andrew J. Glass, "Candidates Woo High-Tech World With Similar Stands," *Cox News Service,* Sept. 14, 2000.) In addition, *InfoWorld*, August 28, 2000, reported that while "'The vast majority of technology executives are in the Bush camp. There are certain people active on the other side: [Novell CEO] Eric Schmidt, [Apple CEO] Steve Jobs, and [eBay CEO] Meg Whitman. But I can't think of any other major CEOs,' [BEA Software CEO Bill] Coleman says." (Jennifer Jones and Bob Trott, "The Politics Of Technology," *InfoWorld*, 8/28/00).

Almost as ubiquitously as the Al Gore donation charge are additional Whitman campaign charges that Poizner "sided with unions attacking Proposition 13 ... increased his department's budget nearly 14 percent .... Opposed the Bush tax cuts" and "supported partial-birth abortion" and "taxpayer-funded abortion" while receiving "a 100 percent rating from Planned Parenthood." The *Sacramento Bee* reported on these charges as follows:

"The [Whitman T.V.] spot cherry-picks budget years to calculate a 14 percent rise in spending at the Department of Insurance, where Poizner is commissioner. The department budget he controlled *actually shrank 13 percent* when measured more accurately, from the last budget Poizner's predecessor approved to the current budget.

"The ad cites a *Palo Alto Daily News* editorial when stating Poizner opposed President George W. Bush's tax cuts. The editorial doesn't quote Poizner, however, and instead paraphrases his position. Poizner has said the paper misstated his stand.

Poizner said last year he would support changing the two-thirds vote requirement to pass a state budget but only for budget increases of less than 5 percent.

"Finally, Poizner supported a 2000 voter in-

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itiative that created an exception to Proposition 13 by letting voters raise money for school bonds with only a 55 percent vote. However, no evidence suggests Poizner worked with labor unions to pass it. *Whitman's own campaign chairman, former Republican Gov. Pete Wilson, supported the measure to make it easier to build schools." (emphasis added throughout)*

The key to most of the confusion about Poizner's positions is that the Whitman statements are simply out-of-date. "Poizner," the *Bee* reported, "voiced most of the positions in the ad during his 2004 run for the state Assembly, when he billed himself as a moderate Republican. *Poizner has since reversed his stances on many of those positions.* Whitman herself supports taxpayer-funded abortion and gave money to Democratic candidates." *(emphasis added)*

Employing the Whitman definition of "just another Sacramento politician," it is clear it applies currently to Meg Whitman and her Wilsonite campaign team, and only to a Steve Poizner who either never existed or has long-since grown into mature conservative convictions, dropping the liberal stances.

It is of the natural course that a true conservative should grow and mature in his convictions over the years. Ronald Reagan certainly did, from signing an abortion on demand law when he first became governor to becoming a firm pro-lifer through the bulk of his gubernatorial and presidential terms. Steve Poizner demonstrates such growth.

Meg Whitman in contrast, demonstrates a callous willingness to take a position today, charge a rival with being a "liberal" for taking precisely the same position years earlier, and never treating her own position as if it mattered at all. After all, if Whitman is supported by Campaign Manager Pete Wilson, where is her opposition to out-of-control spending and tax hikes? In the early 1990s, Wilson raised California taxes massively to finance Democrat spending, a strategy that failed across the board as each tax hike actually resulted in the entirely-supply-side-predictable fall off in total state revenues. The beginnings of California's massive budget deficits date from the early '90s Wilson tax hikes. As Tom McClintock often explains: "state finance did not recover from the Wilson tax hikes until every one of them had either been repealed or expired."

As we know, Meg Whitman's political *persona* came into being with her run for governor. Except for earlier support given Gore and Boxer, and massive "charitable" contributions (in the six-figure range) to many of America's most virulently anti-private property rights, anti-people "environmental" organizations — positions that, quite frankly, could be attributed to a non-ideological mind calculating the best way to win favor among prominent liberal politicians, Hollywood types, and other assorted left-wing money men — Whitman didn't even bother to vote for years leading up to her decision to run for California's top administrative job.

If she possesses genuinely-held political convictions, they would seem to be of recent, and liberal vintage. Her protests about others' being terrible "liberals" for taking the very positions she and her campaign team have consistently taken themselves, bespeaks a mind committed to saying whatever it thinks might bring the desired voter response. If there is evidence of any sort of genuine commitment to issue positions of any sort in the Whitman *repertoire*, much less to deeply-held conservative convictions — convictions capable, like Reagan's and Poizner's of growing into fully-thought-through, firmly-held beliefs — that evidence is being well-hid from view.

So where is the Republican candidate that can be expected to repair the GOP "brand"? The answer is in the records, and in the endorsements. One candidate has notorious opportunist Pete Wilson as its campaign manger (Wilson spokesman Dan Schnur once told me that Wilson knew the best way to do a good job for our state was to do a good job for Pete Wilson, that what served Wilson's interests more or less automatically served California's, as neat a reversal of the thought behind the Reagan adage that "There's no limit to what a man can do or where he can go if he doesn't mind who gets the credit" as ever I've encountered.)

The other is wholeheartedly endorsed by Congressman Tom McClintock whose integrity has often cost him the support of donors and political activists less principled than himself (*see:* Arnold Schwarzenegger and the last race for California Lt. Governor). This split decision between Wilson and McClintock for me is decisive. If it is integrity you want, the choice between GOP candidates for governor is clear. CPR

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Remembering Jerry Brown as Governor

by M. David Stirling

Was Jerry Brown's last term as governor just too long ago to matter? When, in that case, was the truth repealed that failing to learn from history condemns us to re-live it?

EDMUND G. "JERRY" BROWN, JR., became California governor in January 1975. He was 37 years old then. Today, at age 72, he is running for governor again. While some remember the moniker given him, "Governor Moonbeam," few long-time Californians have much recollection of Jerry Brown as governor (1975 - 1982). The millions of current residents who either moved into the state after he left office, or were very young or not yet born during his tenure, have no memory of his governorship.

I became politically active and began to follow state politics in 1966, when I walked precincts and helped get out the vote to elect Ronald Reagan governor. In 1975, when Jerry Brown became governor, my interest in state capitol politics increased because I was gearing up to run for the Assembly the following year. After being elected and taking office in late 1976, I served at the Capitol during the remaining six years of Brown's governorship. I had a front row seat to observe and occasionally

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Brown the *People* magazine celebrity of the 1970s

interact with him and his administration. After I chose to leave the Legislature in 1982 — the same year Jerry Brown departed the governor's office — his successor, Governor George Deukmejian, appointed me to the unenviable position of general counsel of the super-controversial Agricultural Labor Relations Board. it was an experience I will always remember.

BEGINNING WITH this issue of California Political Review, and continuing in the next several issues, I intend to recall several of Jerry Brown's more significant acts as governor, and how they played out. Perhaps these articles will help answer the constant question asked about the most chameleonic politician in California history: "Who really is Jerry Brown?"

THE MOST CHAMELEONIC POLITICIAN IN CALIFORNIA HISTORY

Jerry Brown's first major act as governor came in June 1975 when he signed a new law known as the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA). From as far back as the 1920s, migrant farm workers have toiled in California's agricultural fields. Their plight has been depicted in books and movies: the most prominent being John Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath. In 1935, the National Labor Relations Act provided legal sanction for collective bargaining and other labor practices to most hourly workers in the country, but it specifically excluded agricultural workers. Brown's ALRA was landmark legislation because it was the first labor relations statute anywhere to provide collective bargaining and unfair labor practice redress to farm workers.

This article will not rehash the question of whether California farm workers should have had a labor law; it was the right thing to do. What isn't so well known is how Jerry Brown's agricultural labor law was crafted, enacted, and implemented to put Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers Union in control of agricultural labor production. The stated purpose of the ALRA was to "ensure peace in the agricultural fields by guaranteeing justice for all agricultural workers and stability in labor relations." Because of the way the law and its implementation were so heavily stacked against the grower-employer community, neither of those goals was reached until some years after Jerry Brown left the governor's office.

The ALRA, like so many of Jerry's actions, came about through a combination of two defining experiences of his youth — one religious, the other political. Jerry's attendance at a parochial high school and university and four years at a seminary preparing him for the priesthood ingrained in him a heightened concern for issues such as human rights, equality, and economic egalitarianism on grounds it would benefit the poor, people discriminated against, and minorities. Although Jerry left the seminary in 1960, graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, the next year, and from Yale Law School three years later, promotion of "social justice" would remain at the top of his agenda.

THE CHAVEZ, BROWN, ALINSKY CONNECTION

Growing up the son of a well-known San Francisco political figure — Edmund G. "Pat" Brown, Sr. — district attorney, attorney general, and governor — allowed Jerry the opportunity to observe, learn from, and at times argue with his governor-father, *e.g.*, Jerry tried unsuccessfully to persuade his father never to use the death penalty (which he saw as a "social justice" issue). Pat Brown, himself anti-death penalty, believed he was nonetheless obligated to follow the law. This closeness to the power of high political office infected Jerry with "the political bug," which, combined with his concern

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with issues, ignited his political ambitions. (*See:* "Chronology of Jerry Brown's runs for Political Office," below)

In the early 1950s, a young Cesar Chavez met Fred Ross, a community organizer for the Community Service Organization, a self-help group for barrio residents, sponsored by Chicago-based Saul Alinsky. CSO taught barrio residents how to organize themselves to fight to fight against immigration discrimination, police violence, and similar issues. Chavez joined CSO as a community organizer and soon became its president. Ross described Chavez as "potentially the best grass-roots leader I'd ever ran into." (Note: Fred Ross was trained as a community organizer by Saul Alinsky, known as the father of modern American radicalism. Alinsky's textbook for training community or-

Chronology of Jerry Brown's runs for political office

1969 — At age 31, and while his father's name was still a political asset, Jerry ran for, and was elected to the Los Angeles Community College District Board of Trustees.

1970 — After serving only the first year of a four-year term on the Community College Board, Jerry resigned to run for, and was elected California Secretary of State.

1974 — Jerry ran for and was elected governor of California.

1976 — During his second year as governor, Jerry ran for president in several Democrat primaries. His name was placed in nomination at the Democrat National Convention by United Farm Worker Union President Cesar Chavez. Former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter received the Party's nomination.

1978 — Jerry was re-elected governor.

1980 — Again entering the Democrat primaries in several states, Jerry challenged President Carter's bid for re-election. As some of his liberal activist friends like Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden, and Jesse Jackson joined his campaign, he began to lose broad support and ultimately withdrew from the race.

1982 — In the last year of his second term as governor, Jerry ran for the United States Senate, but lost to Pete Wilson.

1983-1987 — Jerry's biography states: "After his governorship, Brown lectured widely, led delegations to China and the Soviet Union, studied Spanish in Mexico, spent six months in Japan studying Japanese culture and Buddhist practice, worked with Mother Teresa in India at the Home of the Dying, and traveled to Bangladesh as a CARE ambassador of good will during the devastating floods of 1987."

1988 — Jerry returned to California to run for chairman of the California Democrat Party. He was elected and served two years, but abruptly resigned the chairmanship in 1991.

1992 — Jerry again entered the Democrat presidential primaries in several states, this time to challenge President George H.W. Bush's re-election bid. Although he won several early state primaries, his campaign for the nomination against Bill Clinton hit the wall after he declared in New York City's Jewish community that, if nominated, he would consider selecting Jesse Jackson as his vice presidential running mate. Jerry forgot that Jackson's earlier anti-Semitic comments about Jews in New York had offended the Jewish community; it had not forgotten. Jerry lost the New York primary to Arkansas Gov. Clinton and did not win another state primary.

1995-1998 — Referring to himself as a "recovering politician," Jerry hosted a radio talk show on a Berkeley FM station, discussing alternative ideas on a variety of social and political issues, ranging from education and health care to spirituality and the death penalty. He called both his show, and his Oakland-based political action committee, "We the People."

1998 — Jerry re-registered as a "Decline-to-state" to run for mayor of Oakland, and was elected.

2002 — Re-elected as Oakland's mayor.

2006 — Jerry re-registered "Democrat" and ran for, and was elected California Attorney General.

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ganizers, Rules for Radicals, returned to the news recently because Alinsky students in 1985 hired Barack Obama to be a community organizer on Chicago's South Side, where he worked until his election to the Illinois state senate.)

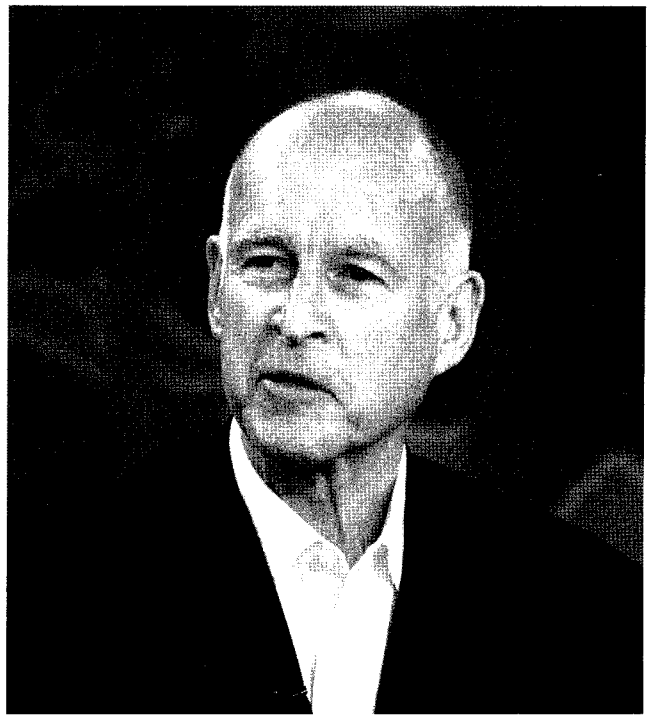
From the teachings of St. Francis and Mahatma Gandhi, Chavez had learned early in his organizing work that non-violence could be an effective force for social justice. While Chavez espoused militant non-violence in his organizing activities, when he became head of the farm worker movement, some of his members did not adhere to the non-violent part of his approach.

BETWEEN 1965 and 1975, Cesar Chavez was deeply involved in a series of violent strikes, boycotts, and inter-union jurisdictional fights: he led a five-year strike and a nationwide boycott against table grape growers; conducted a 25-day fast in 1968 to bring publicity to the boycott (presidential candidate Robert Kennedy joined chavez in delano as he ended the fast); and fought the teamsters union because vegetable and grape growers who didn't want to deal with chavez signed contracts with the teamsters. During this violent fight between the Teamsters and Chavez' UFW, Chavez was jailed in salinas (Robert Kennedy's widow, Ethel, came to visit him at the jail); and he led several farm worker marches against large growers that received nationwide media attention.

Jerry Brown had been a supporter of Chavez since his grape boycott in 1968. He introduced ufw leaders to his hollywood friends to help the union gain financial and celebrity support. In 1973, secretary of state Brown, planning to run for governor the following year, called for enactment of an agricultural labor law.

Governor Jerry Brown announced in his inaugural speech that he soon would introduce a farm labor law. With fellow Democrats fully in control of the Legislature, the recent conflicts in the fields between the ufw and teamsters, and the ufw's "march to modesto" receiving so much media coverage, the grower community recognized that it had little leverage in negotiating with Brown over the labor law's content.

Chavez, his union attorneys, and other officers spent many hours developing the labor law legislation with governor Brown and his key staff members. One of those was the bill's primary drafter, secretary of agriculture rose elizabeth bird. As a deputy public defender and Stanford Law School Criminal Law lecturer, Bird had no experience in either agriculture or labor law. Her appointment by Brown to head the department of agriculture, a position traditionally filled by a farmer, was a deliberate stick in the eye to the grower community.



Seventy-two-year-old Jerry Brown today

When the governor's bill was introduced, he called the grower organizations' representatives to come in and discuss it. They had little time to study the final product. When Governor Brown asked them for their support, knowing they had no power to stop or even amend it, all but a few organizations agreed to support the bill. It passed the legislature, Brown signed it, and it went into effect 90 days later.

Governor Brown immediately nominated five individuals to serve on the agricultural labor relations board (ALRB): Bishop Roger Mahoney of Fresno (now retiring Cardinal Archbishop Mahoney of the Los Angeles Arch-Diocese) as chairman. Mahoney was a long-time Chavez supporter who served as California secretary for the National Catholic Bishops' Committee in support of Chavez' grape and vegetable boycott. Brown also nominated Leroy Chatfield, an officer of the UFW and a long-time supporter of chavez. After Brown became governor, Chatfield became a member of his staff to work for the labor law's passage. The three other appointments included an active member of the *La Raza Unida* Party (a latino political organization that supported Chavez and the UFW in all its activities; and — to give the appearance of bal-

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ance — a teamster union attorney and a farmer.

The hiring of the ALRB staff began in earnest. With direct input from the ufw and the governor's office, the large majority of staff members hired embraced the ufw's agenda. Many were hostile to grower representatives. Because of this affinity toward the ufw, the unionization election petitions filed by the ufw invariably turned out favoring the UFW as the workers' collective bargaining representative. Between 1975 and 1984, the UFW and other unions won 88 percent of all elections.

Nearly all unfair labor practice charges filed by the ufw on behalf of farm workers were pursued by the ALRB staff, while those filed by growers against the ufw were usually dismissed. So blatantly pro-ufw was the ALRB in handling its largely ufw-generated workload, that after six months in operation, the legislature cut off its funding until a more balanced approach could be assured. When the ALRB opened for business again a few months later, governor Brown replaced the board members, but the staff remained largely the same. This was in 1976. At the democrat national convention, cesar chavez nominated california governor jerry Brown for president.

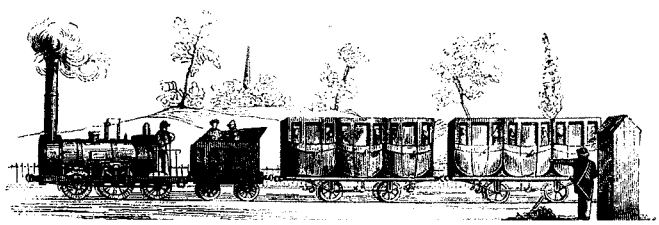
STILL, SIX YEARS LATER, when I arrived at the ALRB as the general counsel — being the first, and for the first year, the only person there not hired under Jerry Brown's administration — that was the staff that greeted me. While I found a small handful of employees who were highly professional and became my trusted staff, most of the agency's employees, especially those in the regional offices, were indifferent — even hostile — to my efforts to bring greater balance to the workings of the office. When I advised them that, just as the National Labor Relations Board's employees were "neutrals" in their work capacity, I expected them as state employees (whose salaries and benefits were paid by the taxpayers) to be fair and balanced in their work. Shortly after that meeting I received a bouquet of 12 dead roses, with a defiant note signed by several staff members.

After I reviewed the 600-plus (mostly UFW-filed) unfair labor practice charges pending with the agency, it became obvious that the reason the UFW had enjoyed so much success during the Brown administration was that the pro-UFW board and staff had simply favored it at every turn. For example, many of the charges failed to contain the required factual declaration from the farm worker stating what harm he had suffered. Securing that declaration was the union's job, but it had come to rely on the ALRB staff to make up for its deficiencies.

My review also showed that several of the UFW's charges against growers were legitimate and should be pursued. But when I asked one of the long-time staff attorneys whether we ever settled any of the UFW's charges against growers, as compared with litigating them in days of hearings before administrative law judges, he replied, "We never settle with the growers. They pay if we prove the charge, or they pay their lawyer even if we fail to prove the charge. Either way, they pay."

The above description of how the ALRB was deliberately set up to — and in practice repeatedly *did* — favor and support the UFW during the Brown administration only scratches the surface of all that actually occurred. It took nearly four years of new board appointments, old staff departures, and new staff coming on board before the ALRB began to function in a fair and balanced manner: as "neutrals." It has remained much that way in the years since.

With Governor Brown dispensing a highly political brand of "social justice" (to favor the UFW) and economic retribution (against the grower community), the Agricultural Labor Relations Act's goal to "ensure peace in the agricultural fields by guaranteeing justice for all agricultural workers and stability in labor relations" came close to fruition only in the years *after* he served as governor. CPR



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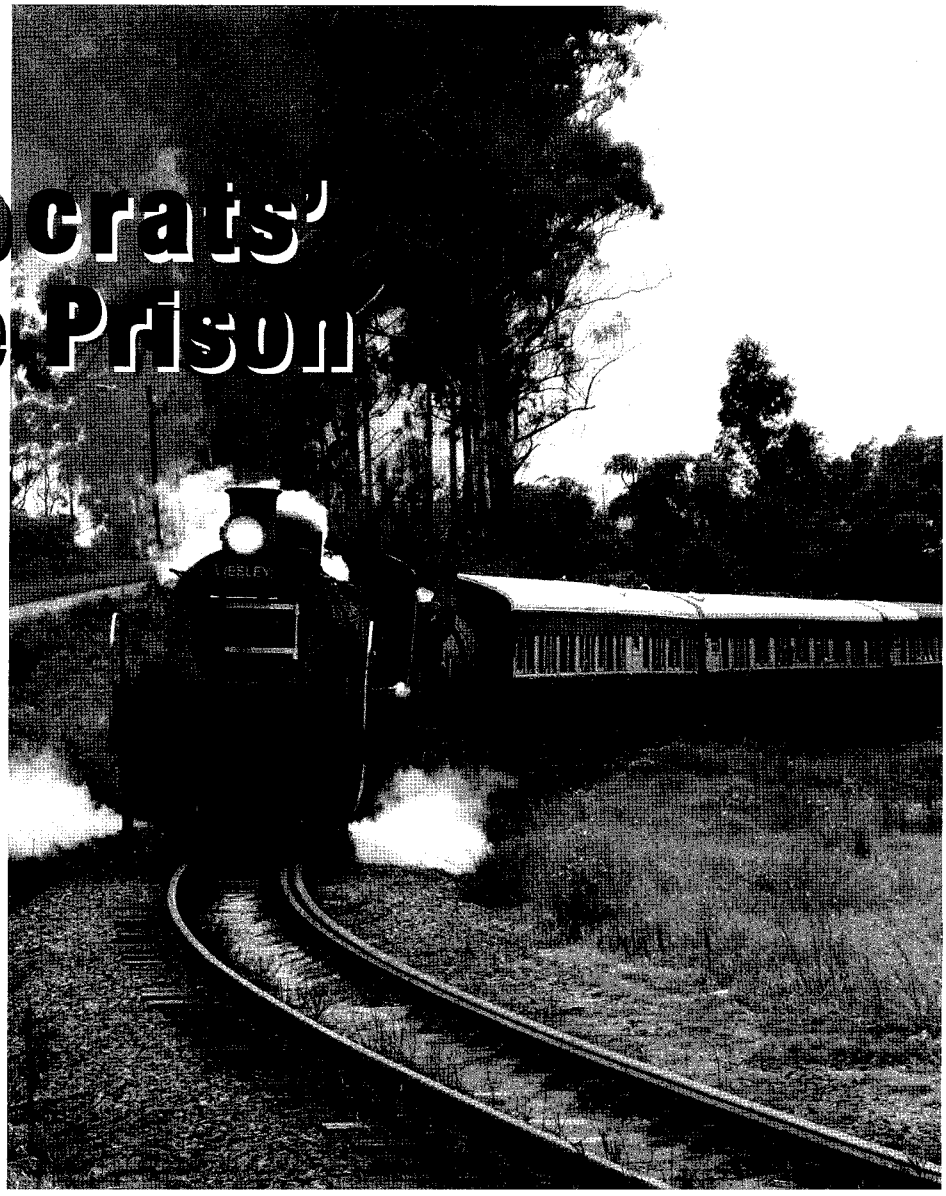
The Democrats' Self-made Prison



I hear the train a comin', It's rollin' 'round the bend,
And I ain't seen the sunshine, since, I don't know when,
I'm stuck in Folsom Prison, and time keeps draggin' on...
I know I had it comin', I know I can't be free,
But those people keep a-movin',
And that's what tortures me...
— Johnny Cash, 'Stuck in Folsom Prison'

by William E. Saracino

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY is stuck in a Folsom Prison whose confining walls and bars are constructed of their far-left ideology. The train they *don't* hear a-comin' is full of fed-up voters ready to deliver a rebuke of historic proportions this November. The coming incineration is made even more probable by the Democrats' willful deafness to what is coming down the track at them. Here's a hint: that light at the end of the tunnel is not sunshine. The Democrat nonchalance about the coming disaster is not all self-inflicted.

Their megaphones and cheerleaders in the media are contributing to the myopia by channeling Bobby McFerrin, telling the Democrats "don't worry, be happy." The media mantra that the Tea-Party's millions are fringies not to be taken se-

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riously; that liberal losses in Virginia, New Jersey, and Massachusetts are flukes; that voters are angry at incumbents and not specifically liberal incumbents; etc. etc. and so on, contributes mightily to the deafness. After all, if nothing's seriously wrong, nothing requires serious changing.

THE BOB BENNETT IMBROGLIO

A splendid example of this "whistling past the graveyard" was the liberal media reaction to the defeat for renomination of Utah Republican Senator Robert Bennett. Commentators on Sunday talk shows, the day after Bennett lost, were foaming at the mouth so much it resembled the bubbles extravaganza at the end of the Lawrence Welk Show.

The liberal media's favorite conservative, *i.e.* most reliable basher of conservatives and Republicans, David Brooks, termed Bennett's defeat "an ominous, terribly bad sign for the Republican Party." E. J. Dionne, who if subjected to truth serum would have to admit never having voted for a Republican, fumed that the defeat was "beyond terrible, it is in essence a non-violent coup." Well, yes, E.J., we have these non-violent coups with some regularity in America — they're called elections.

The liberal line on Bennett's defeat was one of two self-contradictory explanations: 1) it was just those crazy Tea-Party folks irrationally punishing a very conservative Senator; and/or 2) it was part of a general anti-incumbent mood and had nothing to do with liberalism. Reality could not be further removed from the liberal media explanation. Bob Bennett was run over by 2010's conservative train a-comin', rollin' round the bend because of specific, liberal votes. He made no effort to mend his ways to hop on board the conservative express or get out of its way, so he was flattened by it.

Bennett voted for the very-unpopular-in-Utah TARP multi-billion dollar bailouts. He supported the very-unpopular-in-Utah concept of forcing people to buy health insurance by fining and taxing them if they don't. And he positively wallowed in the very-unpopular-in-Utah earmark pork swamp. Citizens Against Government Waste recently ranked Bennett as the 14th largest spender among earmarkers. Not just among Republicans mind you: he was the 14th largest spender on earmarks among *all* senators. That means there were 46 current Democrat senators who spent less than Bennett did. The

The liberal media's favorite conservative, i.e. most reliable basher of conservatives and Republicans, David Brooks, termed Bennett's defeat 'an ominous, terribly bad sign for the Republican Party.'

media might not know it, but real conservatives are made of sterner stuff.

On top of those specific issue apostasies, Bennett violated his promise to Utahans to serve only two terms in the senate. He was seeking nomination to his fourth senate term, violating his initial pledge by a nice, round 100 percent. In plainer language, he lied to his constituents. How quaint that Republican voters in Utah still expect their elected officials to tell them the truth. What rubes.

Additionally, Bennett's father occupied the same Senate seat for four terms — 24 years. Junior, seeking his own fourth term, had served 18 years, meaning that there had been a Bennett family member in that senate seat for a total of 42 years. Utah Republicans deciding it was time for someone else to have a chance was certainly not a radical step, though it may well have seemed like a non-violent coup to Bennett.

Knowingly or not, Bennett identified the causes of his defeat in answering a question of what advice he would give to other office holders. His response was "spend time with your constituents. Be in tune with your constituents." Had the Senator followed his own advice he

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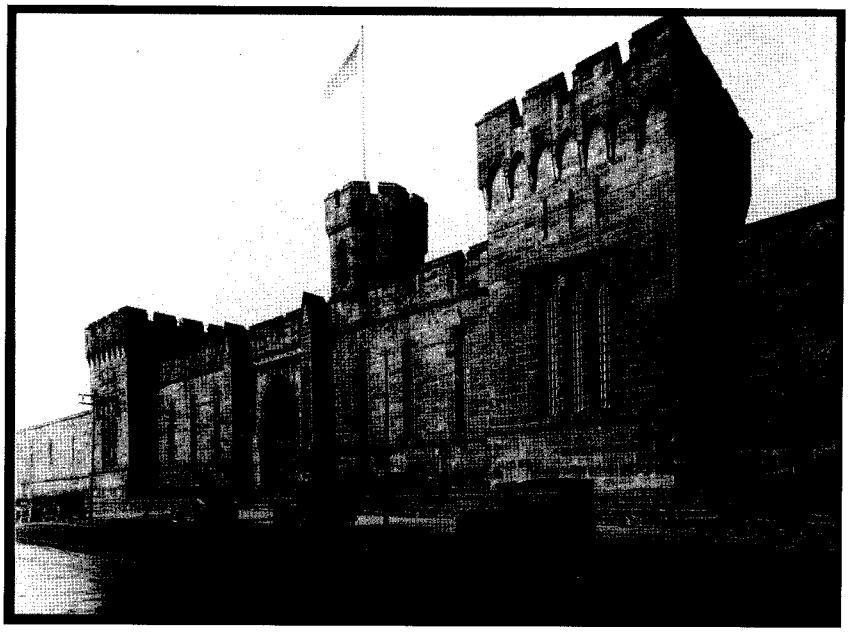

would be headed back for a fourth term. Hundreds of Democrat incumbents across the country are ignoring Bennett's advice by toeing the Pelosi, Reid, Obama party line. They are in real danger of suffering Bennett's fate as a result.

DEMOCRAT PARALLELS; MEDIA MYOPIA

Bob Bennett lost renomination on a Saturday. The following Tuesday the anti-liberal trend exhibited itself on the other side of the country and in the other political party as incumbent Democrat Alan Mollohan was defeated for renomination in his West Virginia congressional district. Like Bennett, Mollohan was not exactly a fresh face, having served 18 years in Congress. And like Bennett, Mollohan viewed his seat in Congress as a family sinecure — his father had served 14 years in Congress from the same district.

The Bennett defeat was widely covered by the media — trying to spin it into a club with which to bash conservatives. The Mollohan defeat was essentially ignored. Those looking for a reason might consider that Mollohan's opponent campaigned on two main issues: a promise to vote to repeal Obamacare and a promise not to vote for Nancy Pelosi for Speaker. You read that correctly, the winner of the Democrat primary was the candidate who ran as an opponent of Obamacare and Speaker Pelosi. The media could find nothing in this story worthy of comment or analysis.

Those who appreciate symmetry should also consider that Bob Bennett and his father occupied a senate seat for 42 years. Alan Mollohan and his father occupied a congressional seat for 32 years. Bob Bennett was defeated by Republican voters in a heavily Republican state because he was viewed as too liberal. Alan Mollohan was defeated by Democrat voters in a heavily Democrat state because he was viewed as too liberal. These were not votes against incumbents — they were votes against incumbents perceived to be too liberal.

It's not rocket science to discern a trend here, but it is apparently beyond most of the national media. This ought to be fine with conservatives for reasons mentioned earlier. If media reassurances to Democrats that there really is nothing wrong with their ultra-liberal message or policy-making convinces them to change nothing, all the better for conservatives. The media is telling the Democrats that there is no need to get off the train tracks, that roaring sound approaching is just the wind.

The Bennett and Mollohan defeats may be the biggest, but are far from being the only tea-leaves pointing to liberal disaster at the polls this November. Hawaii's First congressional district, centered in Honolulu, is one of the most reliably Democrat districts in the country. It's incumbent congressman, Neil Abercrombie — famous for his pony tail — resigned to run for governor, setting up a special election. The organization officially tasked with electing Democrats to congress, the National Democrat Congressional Campaign Committee, just announced that it was pulling all resources out of the upcoming election because of "the likelihood of a Republican victory."

Democrat Congressman David Obey has rep-

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resented Wisconsin's 7th district for 41 years, never having to breath hard for re-election. He recently announced he was retiring rather than face a popular, conservative Republican district attorney in November. Most national handicappers now rate this seat — again, held by the Democrats for 41 years — as a likely Republican pick up.

In Kentucky, Rand Paul, son of Congressman Ron Paul, won nomination for the U.S. senate by defeating the GOP establishment's candidate two-to-one. Paul's opponent had the support of GOP Senate Leader Mitch McConnell, former Vice President Dick Cheney, the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and a veritable Who's Who of Kentucky GOP "leadership." Paul is an M.D. by trade, not a politician. All he had going for him was a conservative platform with which Barry Goldwater or Ronald Reagan would have been comfortable. Paul received 65 percent of the primary vote.

ANYTHING TO MAINTAIN THE ROSEY-HUED OUTLOOK

In the face of all this the media desperately tried to turn the Pennsylvania primary results into good news. Former Democrat turned former Republican turned current Democrat Arlen Specter lost the Democrat primary for re-nomination. And it couldn't have happened to a more deserving guy. Specter lost to a former admiral, Congressman Joe Sestak, who needed to do little more than remind Democrat primary voters that Specter had spent the last 45 years as a Republican. Sestak had a devastating TV ad, the tag line of which was "Arlen Specter changed parties to save one job — his, not yours."

The media failed to note President Obama's involvement in the race. He not only endorsed Specter but cut a TV ad for him saying "I love Arlen Specter." Most Pennsylvania Democrats apparently weren't feeling the love. Still in the Keystone state, the media huffed and puffed trying to turn Democrat retention of recently deceased Congressman John Murtha's congressional seat into voter affirmation of the president and all his works. Well, that's their story, so they're stuck with it. But here are a couple of salient points the media seems to have neglected. The district has a two-to-one Democrat registration margin. The Specter/Sestak statewide race, in which tens of millions of dollars were spent, magnified Democrat turnout at the polls. The Democrat winner against Spector has a 100 percent rating from both the NRA and the National Right to Life Committee. He said that had he been in Congress in April he would have voted against Obamacare. And to make sure voters got the point, he said he "did not want or request" a campaign visit by his party's leader, who, last time I checked, was Barack Obama. On such slender reeds does media crowing rest.

BIGGEST LOSER AWARD

In fact if a "biggest loser" trophy is to be given for the election season so far, it has to go to the president. Voters have now rejected candidates he endorsed, campaigned for, and quite literally embraced in statewide races in Virginia, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. The one "bright spot" for the Democrats, their winner in the Murtha seat, rejected Obama's signature achievement and told the president to stay away from his district. On such slender reeds does White House crowing rest.

Added to all of this specific evidence are the national surveys of the environment in November, as found in voters' attitudes about Barack Obama, Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid, and the Democrat Congressional majority. The latest Rasmussen polls has Obama's job disapproval at 53 percent, his approval at 45 percent — and that's the good news for the Democrats. Pelosi, Reid, and the Democrat congress have approval ratings on a par with root canals.

Then there is the kurfuffle over the "controversial" new Arizona illegal immigration law. In reality it is controversial only in the fever swamps of the left. An average of national sur-

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veys taken on the law show that 70 percent or more of Arizonans support the law. These same surveys show that 65 percent of all Americans also support the law. When asked about specifics of the law — like allowing police to ask for proof of citizenship and denying public benefits to illegals — support ranges in the 70-to-75 percent range. Only in liberal land does approval by two-thirds to three-fourths of the electorate make a law "controversial."

The one obvious opportunity is attacking the mutant monstrosity Obamacare in its infancy. If the House does not appropriate funds for Obamacare, it is a toothless tiger.

Controversial or not, the liberal media echo chamber has guaranteed that the Arizona law will be an issue in congressional races across the country. You don't need to be Karnak the Magnificent to predict that liberal candidates will run away from attacking the law as fast as possible, or that defending the law will be part of the fuel for victories for scores of conservative candidates come November.

THIS TIME, THE GOP WILL HAVE TO DELIVER

All that good news said, the Republicans have hard work ahead. Winning large numbers of Democrat congressional seats this fall will be mightily aided by the president's myopia and unpopularity and that of his far-left allies who control congress. But if the GOP landslide is to grow to historic proportions, all of the "i's" must to be dotted and every "t" crossed. The difference between a good result and a great one often comes down to blood, sweat, and hard work. To mix metaphors, in order to take full advantage of a wave you need to swim to the top of it. Being there can't be taken for granted — the GOP has to work at it. This is pretty basic politics, and I am confident that conservative candidates and their campaigns across the country will do the unglamorous but necessary-to-victory "grunt work."

Equally important though is for the Republicans who are victorious in November to have a positive agenda for the country come January when they are sworn in. Being the "un-Obama" will likely be sufficient for victory this November. It will not be sufficient to capitalize on that victory in 2011 and set the stage to retire the jug-eared socialist from the Oval Office in 2012.

The one obvious opportunity is attacking the mutant monstrosity known as Obamacare. Doing so is widely popular in the country. While repeal would likely pass the House next year — even if Democrats maintain a small majority therein — it would not survive a certain Democrat filibuster in the senate or a presidential veto. But full repeal is not necessary to smother Obamacare in its infancy. All spending bills must originate in the House of Representatives. If the House does not appropriate funds for Obamacare, it is a toothless tiger. While it would still technically exist, it would be an engine with no gasoline, a car with no wheels. None of it would take effect. Accomplishing only that and nothing else would make the next Congress a watershed one in American history.

BUT IF the Republicans and conservatives want to build their victory this November into something more permanent, they must offer the country a positive, easily understood, conservative agenda that addresses the concerns of the American people — particularly on health care. The Contract with America served this purpose in 1994 and served it well. The GOP congressional majorities started losing popularity when they strayed from the Contract and started acting like typical incumbents. The epithet for the Republican congressional majority was well said some years ago — they went to

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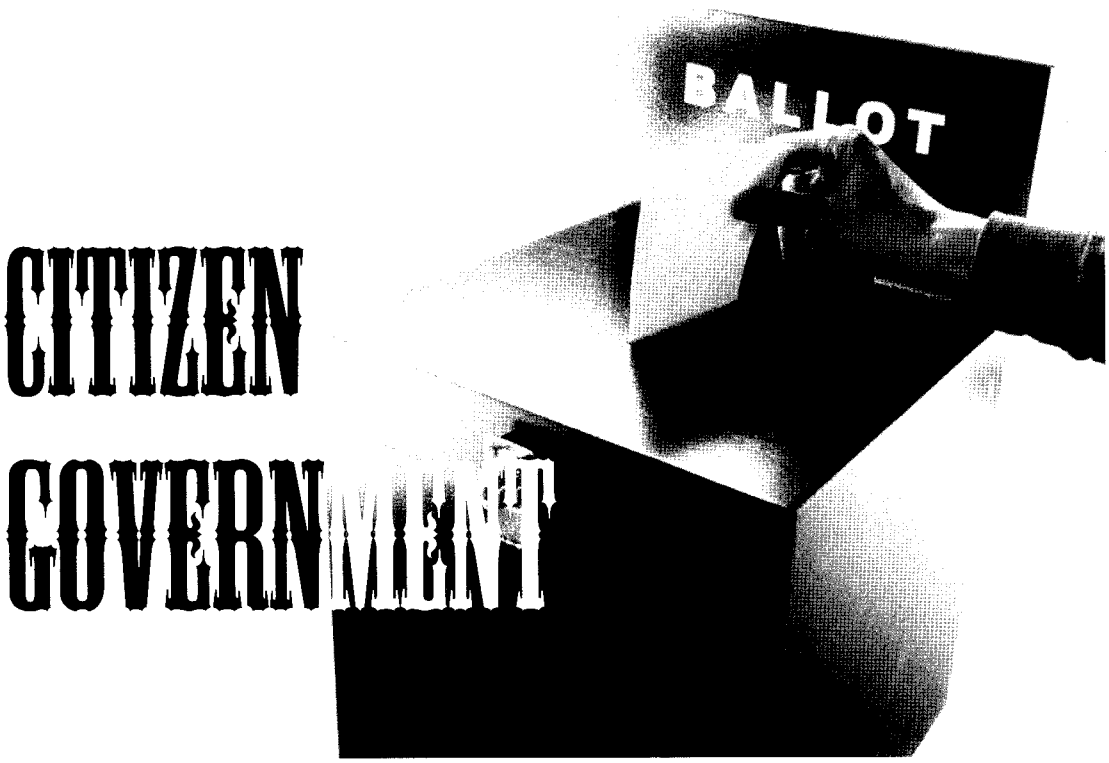
Washington to change the city, but instead let the city change them.

Disgust with liberalism is cresting at historically high levels this year. Conservative and Republican candidates stand to reap substantial victories in November because of that. However, their vision must extend beyond November, into a future where conservative ideas and programs — freeing the American people and their economy from the leviathan that both parties have created — are a constant source feeding a permanent conservative majority.

The Democrats and their enablers in the media are going to make this possible by their inability to recognize the train a-comin' 'round the bend. Their personal Folsom Prisons — their ideological extremism — are of their own making, and they apparently cannot break out of them. The GOP opportunity is coming, as surely as Johnny Cash's train. Conservatives must be ready to ride the train if they are going to achieve true majority status. CPR



The California Primary's Ballot Measures

California Political Review's expert initiative description and analysis*

by Dan Brennan

Proposition 13

Proposition 13 changes the constitutional provisions allowing for property tax reassessment after building upgrades (first created by the more famous Proposition 13 of 1978). In the wake of the 2003 'quake, many owners of masonry buildings in San Luis Obispo County

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wanting to to upgrade their historic masonry buildings found themselves looking at substantial property tax increases down the road.

Presently the law provides a 15-year exclusion for retrofit improvements of unreinforced masonry buildings. However, after 15 years those improvements become fair game for the County Assessor to include in the property's taxable value. This has created a long-term disincentive for good public policy: upgrading dangerous older buildings.

San Luis Obispo County Assessor Tom Bordonaro garnered the support of county tax assessors statewide and brought this measure to state Senator Roy Ashburn to be introduced as a Senate Constitutional Amendment (SCA 4, 2008) for placement on this June's ballot. Ashburn's bill passed both houses of the Legislature with no opposition

Proposition 13 has no stated opposition.

Proposition 14

Proposition 14 was placed on the ballot by the Legislature as part of the late-night, last-minute wheeling and dealing that, in recent years, has become the norm for the state budget "process." Specifically this measure was foisted on the electorate to satisfy the "deal closing" final demand of Republican state Senator Abel Maldonado in exchange for his hold-out vote to pass the 2007 budget with its bevy of tax increases. Normally, absent backroom dealing, those tax hikes would have been anathema to a Republican legislator. Prop. 14 abolishes the partisan primary process for California's statewide and legislative offices, and replaces it with a runoff system in the general election for the top two candidates in the primary regardless of party affiliation. The net effect is similar to that of Proposition 198 of 1996 which was ruled unconstitutional because it forced political parties to allow outsiders to vote in their primary process thereby violating parties' rights of free association. This measure avoids that concern by simply abolishing partisan primaries altogether for state-run elections.

Proponents say Prop. 14 will weaken special interests that "control" the political parties and that it will eliminate "gridlock" in Sacramento. Opponents say a similar process is in place in two other states and nothing meaningful has changed. They point out that this ballot question, as a late night backroom deal to please one man, should be defeated regardless of what it does or doesn't do.

In a somewhat telling development, the California Chamber Of Commerce contributed $120,000 in support of Prop. 14 through its California Business Pac (Calbuspac).

Proposition 15

Proposition 15 begins a process that has been near and dear to the left for decades: public funding of political campaigns. Like the proverbial camel's nose under the tent, it begins small, funding just one statewide race, but lays the groundwork for an eventual revamping of how and by whom elections are funded in California across the board. The measure has two key provisions. It mandates new fees on lobbyists and lobbyist employers to fund a single statewide race, Secretary of State. In order to permit that scheme, however, the existing ban on public funding of campaigns must first be lifted and the measure provides the necessary language to do that. Of course once that ban is lifted the state Legislature will be free to include additional state and legislative offices until a fully socialized electoral system is in place.

Prop. 15 is supported by the left-leaning AARP, League of Women Voters, and Big Labor (*i.e.,* the California Nurses Association). It is opposed by the California Manufacturers and Technology Association, several former heads of the Fair Political Practices Commission, and the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association.

Proposition 16

In recent years, several localities across the

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state have explored the idea of creating their own entities to acquire and provide electricity that presently is provided by investor-owned utilities. Depending on how the process is approached and the kind of entity created, some of these schemes require a majority vote approval by voters. In some cases, however, such as expansion of existing publicly-owned utilities, no vote is required of many of the affected customers. Proposition 16 seeks to provide a broad taxpayer protection by requiring a two-thirds vote of the public before a city, county, or other locality can create or expand a public power entity with public funds, public debt, or ratepayer revenue.

Proposition 16 is supported by the California Taxpayers Association and the California Chamber of Commerce. It is opposed by AARP and the Sierra Club.

Proposition 17

Proposition 17 is a claimed remedy to one of the consequences of the government "meddling" in the insurance industry created by Proposition 103 in 1998. Prop. 103 prevents insurers from considering the risk factor created by people who intermittently purchase auto insurance and occasionally drive without insurance for months or years at a time. While existing law created by Prop. 103 allows insurers to provide a discount to their own policy holders for continuous coverage and a good driving record, it prohibits insurers from providing such discounts to new customers who have had continuous coverage and a good driving record with a competing insurance company.

Proposition 17 would allow insurance companies to offer discounts to customers who "carry over" a record of good driving and continuous coverage from another insurer.

Prop. 17 is supported by the California Chamber of Commerce and the California Taxpayer Protection Committee and opposed by the author of Prop. 103, Harvey Rosenfeld, and by former California Attorney General John Van de Kamp. CFR

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Health Care in a Starbucks Line

by Ted Archer

This morning I realized that all of the answers to our national health care debate can be found in a Starbucks line. I'm serious: Let me explain. My brother sent me a series of text messages, the first of which commented on the president's signing of the $938 billion health care bill. Knowing how passionate I am about the issue, he wrote, "and of course I thought of you." Moments later, he messaged me on an unrelated topic—the longer-than-usual line at his neighborhood Starbucks.

Even from across town, I knew why the line was long. My wife had mentioned that Starbucks was offering free pastries all day. And,

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though not in the habit of visiting Starbucks (she prefers a competitor), she mentioned, "so, I might just stop by."

I informed my brother of the promotion, and he unwittingly solved our health care debate with his response: "J People go crazy for free stuff, even if they don't need it."

It was such a simple, obvious, honest, and correct assessment of a situation. No one who has ever attended a ballgame with hotdog-shooting air guns could possibly deny that human beings have an impulse to act ridiculously in the face of free stuff. I recalled a time when I drove by a Denny's restaurant and saw a line down the block; I later learned that they were offering a free Grand Slam breakfast. Next I thought about the sidewalk sleepovers at shopping malls the night before Black Friday.

THEN, I remembered that a mere two weeks prior I had waited in a ridiculously long line for a mall kiosk because they were offering a free pretzel. And here's the ridiculous part: I've never before had the impulse to eat a mall pretzel. And yet, there I was, with my son asleep in his stroller, waiting to get some cinnamon-sugar bread.

So, as I stared at my brother's text message about the long line at Starbucks, it was obvious he was correct: People do go crazy for free stuff, even if they don't need it. Which brings us back to health care. In the same America where people wait hours for a free $2 pastry, we have actually taken seriously the idea that health care usage might not increase if government picks up the tab. Thinking about all of the people in those retail chain lines, I find it difficult to believe that at least some of us won't line up for a few extra medical morsels.

Accordingly, it is with great pride that I postulate the Starbucks Line Theorem, which consists of two parts:

1) If one were to stand on a street corner and hand out free stuff—food, key chains, diapers, fliers, or anything else, people will take more of that free stuff than they would if they had to pay for it themselves. And 2) If one were to set up a health care system where people receive treatments that are paid for by someone else,

Although Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman wrote a whole book titled: *There's no such thing as a free lunch,* it remains one of the most difficult lessons for the human race to learn.

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people will use more health care services than they would have if they had been required to pay for it themselves.

Some will contend that I have oversimplified the issue and that health care usage is need-driven. But I can't help think that the analogy still holds. I guarantee that the vast majority of the people in that pretzel line didn't need a pretzel; in fact, most of us shouldn't have been eating one. And yet, there we were, wasting away our day because we weren't being asked to make a choice between one use of our money and another. It was "free," so we took more than we would otherwise take.

Unlike the Starbucks line, our national health care debate is moving us away from choice; if coffee houses mirrored our politicians' health care dreams, we wouldn't have the choice to opt out of the Starbucks line in favor of a competitor.

While there are multiple issues in the health care debate, it seems obvious that we should put this one to rest: people will use more health care under Obamacare, or at least they will try to do so. We won't, of course, have more doctors or nurses, but we will have an additional 32 million people lining up for services. That will impact the quality and timing of the care everyone can receive.

And at the risk of abusing an analogy, it is worth making two additional points. First, we will eventually learn that, like the Starbucks line — which forced even those willing to pay for their pastries to wait longer to receive one — health care will become less efficient and more rationed as the system is abused by unnecessary medical requests. Second, unlike the Starbucks line, our national health care debate is moving us away from choice; if coffee houses mirrored our politicians' health care dreams, we wouldn't have the choice to opt out of the Starbucks line in favor of a competitor.

None of this is to say that people should abuse health care. Rather, it's just to say that people will act as they always do in the environment in which they are placed. If someone else pays for Americans' food items, they will eat more of those items; if someone else pays for Americans' health care expenses, they will demand more health care.

In closing, full disclosure is appropriate: That mall line I waited in? I actually ate two free pretzels. CPR

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A Politically Incorrect Robin Hood

by Eldon Quick

Few characters are as popular and ubiquitous in Hollywood film making as the venerable Robin Hood. The bandit-champion of the down-trodden has appeared in, according to the Internet Movie Database, more than 100 movies and television shows. He made his first movie appearance in 1922 in the capable hands of Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., the epitome of the swashing and buckling sword master of early movie days. Next, in 1938, Errol Flynn set the bar for all fol-

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lowing Robin Hoods with an athletic performance matching that of Doug Fairbanks but with a bigger smile and thicker thighs. His movie script, based on Howard Pyle's 1883 novel *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood,* set the story line that all subsequent interpretations were to follow.

Performances by big, and not so big, stars have followed. In 1976, Sean Connery and Audrey Hepburn play *Robin and Marian* in their later years. In 1991 Kevin Costner made his *Robin Hood* a not so merry fighter for the cause of justice. In 1993 Mel Brooks sent the whole Robin Hood genre up with his *Robin Hood: Men in Tights.* Animators also got into the act with Walt Disney's 1973 *Robin Hood* and a Warner Brothers cartoon with Daffy Duck as the hero of Sherwood. 1964 brought us Frank Sinatra in an exotic version with *Robin and the 7 Hoods* set in Las Vegas. In the '40s, '50s, and '60s, several lesser stars took their shot at the role.

In general, all have followed the basic line set by Pyle that Robin Hood was a late 12th-century fighter against an unjust King John. He stole back what the greedy "rich" — mostly corrupt government officials — had taken from the poor and from the Church. He fought the evil Sheriff of Nottingham and the usurper King John. He was the proto-socialist seeing to the redistribution of the wealth rightly belonging to the people. I've always been a little uncomfortable with that sort of person being considered the hero but then, I'm not all that good at being politically correct.

Nor is Russell Crowe in Ridley Scott's *Robin Hood.* His fight is for England against the invading French, and a king too stupid and too busy trying to be friends with the French to see the coming danger. He is on the side of the Earls and Barons against a tyrannical king who is bent on taxing them and the people they are responsible for into destitution. He is for giving them the freedom to manage their property as they see fit without interference from the king's or church's bureaucrats and tax collectors. This is a politically incorrect take on legendary Robin Hood. And, accordingly, it has annoyed several critics to the point of high dudgeon.

"This adaptation," wrote *Slate's* Dana Stevens, "seems either not to understand the appeal of its source material or to reject it deliberately. The movie eschews every value we've come to think of as quintessentially Robin Hood-ish: derring-do, mischief, laughter, joy. And, the *Wall Street Journal's* Joe Morgenstern says, "Up to now the only absurd retelling of the evergreen legend has been Mel Brook's .... Ridley Scott's new version achieves an absurdity all its own."

What seems to have the critics tights in a wad is that this Robin Hood is no 'do-gooder' with a smile on his face and a bow in his hands, and a hey nonynony and a hot cha-cha, but rather, a tired, common soldier escaping the dead King Richard's army on his way back to England. When he is asked by the dying Robert of Loxley to take his sword back to his father the Earl of Loxley, (Max von Sydow) Robin Longstride, (Russell Crowe), evidently having nothing better to do, agrees to do it. Besides, he has some memory of having come from nearby Nottingham. He takes with him his fellow deserters Little John, (Kevin Durand) called 'Little' because he's so big, Will Scarlet (Scott Grimes), the red head, and Allan A'Dayle (Alan Doyle) the lute player. Many adventures later they arrive at the impoverished estate of the blind Earl of Loxley. The Earl, learning his estranged son is dead, and learning that this tired soldier, the son of the stone mason Longstride, knows nothing of his own father, requests Robin remain in the manor till he learns the meaning of the sword and the mission of his father. Also in order to protect his land from confiscation by the king if he dies without heirs, he arranges that his daughter-in-law, Marian (Cate Blanchett), take Robin as husband to replace the dead Robert (a proposition that pleases her not at all).

After seeing some advertisements for the movie and reading headlines of reviews, I admit I was not looking forward to seeing a bastardization of the well-established Robin Hood legend. All too often lately, Hollywood has taken the title of a well-known

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story, and using the names of its famous characters, created a new story having little or nothing to do with the original. The recent *Alice in Wonderland* and *Troy*, for instances.

However, after doing a little research, I learn that Howard Pyle's novel had little historical accuracy going for it, and far from being the only version of the Robin Hood legend, in fact many stories, songs, and plays portray a variety of Robin Hoods in a variety of adventures. In the 14th and 15th centuries, troubadours sang songs of Robin Hood at festivals, and villagers performed plays about him. The earliest surviving copies of the narrative ballads that tells his story have been dated to the 15th century or the first decade of the 16th.

In these early accounts, Robin Hood's partisanship of the lower classes, his special regard for women, his outstanding skill as an archer, his anti-clericalism, and his particular animus towards the Sheriff of Nottingham are clear, but other than that a story teller is free to create as he (or she) will. He can be the hero of derring-do, mischief, laughter, joy, or he could be a dark hero fighting and killing to reclaim justice from tyranny.

And again, as to Pyle's historical accuracy, After reading up on the life and times of the late 12th Century, early 13th Century, the time frame Robin Hood is supposed to have existed in, there are many impossibilities and improbabilities in his narrative. For instance, at the end of Pyle's story, King Richard I returns to England to wed the lovers, Robin and Marian, and to depose his evil brother John. The problem is that Richard was in fact killed in France in 1199. In his whole life he never spent more than a few months in the British Isles. In his narrative, Robin robs from the rich and gives to the poor. What rich? The landowners, and merchants as well, had been stripped of everything that could be turned into wealth in order to support the crusade, the ransom of King Richard, and his campaign against King Phillip of France.

If its historical accuracy one is after — and I certainly am — Scott Ridley, Russell Crowe, their artistic directors, the set designers, the prop men, the historical researchers, the costumers, the scriptwriters, and the film editors have created a world in which such a special hero such as Robin Hood could evolve with a fidelity so thorough, so accurate, one can smell it. As I said, I came to the theater prepared not to like the movie, but it won me over. Russell Crowe plays the part he does best, that of the violent brute with a heart of gold. Cate Blanchet is the statuesque Celtic beauty — a Kate to Crowe's Petrucio. True, they are not the Robin Hood and Maid Marian of old, but they are actually much more interesting, and more believable as people of the early 13th Century.

Now I admit Ridley has taken some liberties with his time line. He has compressed the death of Richard I, the revolt of the English Barons, the writing and signing of the Magna Carta, and the French invasion of England — a series of events that took many years — into a few months, and worst of all, his conception of the landing craft that might have been used in the landing of an invading French army on the shores of England is simply absurd.

But — well — despite these quibbles the point remains that I thoroughly enjoyed the movie. If you'd like to see a film that immerses you in a world of long, long ago, I heartily recommend Ridley Scott's *Robin Hood.* CPR

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The First Terrorist

Icon of Evil: Hitler's mufti and the rise of radical Islam

by by David G. Dalin and John F. Rothmann, Random House, New York 2008, 227 pages wit index, $17.16, cloth.

reviewed by Denis Norrington

When the horror of 9-11 struck, most people's responses could have been divided into two categories. The first (a majority) believed that war had been declared against us and supported or even engaged in military mobilization to the extent possible in 2001. The second group went out and bought books, magazines, and other literature with the aim of trying to "understand" the "true nature" of our "supposed" adversaries. Too bad for them if they spent a lot of money. All they actually needed was the definitive work by David Dalin and John Rothmann on the life of Haj Amin al Husseini, the original progenitor to which all roads leading to every one of the current variants of Islamo-Nazi terrorism can be traced.

The life and activities of al Husseini read like a roadmap of the subsequent mass Islamo-Nazi terrorist movement. Born in Jerusalem in 1895, al Husseini made the requisite pilgrimage to Mecca in 1913 while attending aIAzhar University in Cairo. After serving in the Ottoman Army in World War I, he returned to Jerusalem where he became the leader of Arab efforts to throttle and reverse Jewish settlement in what was then the Palestine mandate. Here his obsessive hatred of Jews came to the fore and was to become the guiding force of his entire life. During the often violent history of the Palestine Mandate, al Husseini was in the forefront of radical Arab anti-Jewish violence, calling for the first time in history for mass murder to exterminate all Jews, not just those in Palestine.

As Grand Mufti of Jerusalem during the years of the British mandate, he became the driving force and organizer for the continuously violent efforts to stop and, wherever possible, reverse Jewish immigration into Palestine. Finally by 1937 the British authorities had had enough of al Husseini. Upon the issuance of a warrant for his arrest, he fled, first to Iraq where he attempted to organize a pro-Nazi coup in that nation in 1941, then to Tehran where he supported the pro-Nazi activities of Reza Shah (the father of the late Shah overthrown by the Islamic radicals in 1979) until the latter was deposed by anti-Nazi forces aided by the British.

Following a brief stay in Turkey, he went first to Italy where he met and was welcomed by Benito Mussolini. After a brief stay with II Duce, he went directly to Berlin where on November 28, 1941 he met directly with Joachim Yon Ribbentrop, Hitler's Foreign Minister, and then with Hitler himself. During the Mufti's subsequent four years in Berlin, he directly assisted Nazi war efforts, especially those focused on "solving" the "Jewish problem." He broadcast widely in Arabic (over Radio Berlin) programs directed to the Arab populations of the Middle East and elsewhere, his constant theme being the eradication of Jews whenever and wherever possible. He helped Heinrich Himmler organize, train, and arm a Bosnian Muslim division of the Warren SS that was instrumental in the slaughter of most of the Jewish populations of Bosnia and Hun-

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gary. In addition, it is now widely accepted by most historians that he played a crucially important role in driving Hitler to accelerate the program of mass slaughter of Jews in the concentration camps. He successfully obstructed efforts by the allies to negotiate freedom for some Jews in exchange for German POWs and was successful in blocking plans by some of Hitler's satellite allies to allow limited Jewish emigration to Palestine. As the Nazi war situation became more desperate, Hitler's obsession with the "Jewish Problem" became more intense, driven in large part by his close association with the Mufti.

Following the end of World War II, al Husseini was able to avoid Allied attempts to bring him to trial as a wartime Nazi collaborator, partly because of the unofficial help of elements in the French government that were trying to keep the rising tide of Arab nationalism at bay in the large areas of the Middle East still subject to their control. Eventually settling in those parts of Palestine still outside of Israel after the first Arab- Israeli conflict of 1948, the mufti attempted to organize as much support as possible for a militant anti-Israeli united Arab front. Those politicians who refused to support al Husseini's militant position were targeted for retaliation. The father of King Hussein of Jordan, King Abdullah, was assassinated on orders from Husseini when he attempted to remove al Husseini as reinstalled Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

During these postwar years al Husseini solidified and expanded his personal and political connections with many whose names have become household words to people who have even only a cursory knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs. His close association with one of the leading founders of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt gave rise to direct connections with and influence over radicals such as Yasir Arafat, Gamal Abdel Nasser, and, before he became an advocate of peace with Israel, Anwar Sadat. Indeed, Sadat's assassination after he negotiated the peace treaty with Israel was engineered by Islamic Jihad, a direct offshoot of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. Also the writings of one of the Brotherhood's major leaders and thinkers, Sayyid Qutb, have been central to the development of the militant ideology of the Iranian mullahs, which in turn spawned Hamas and Hezbollah, the two major arms of current Palestinian terrorism against Israel. Qutb's writings were also taken up by Osama bin Laden and the other leaders of al Queda. Needless to say, al Qutb and al Husseini were very close, both personally and politically. Al Husseini's name and activities are deeply interwoven with the current network of Islamo-Nazi terrorist organizations in just about every area of the Muslim world. As their progenitor and ideological godfather, Haj arnin al-Husseini qualifies incontrovertibly as the founder of Islamic terrorism.

Which in turn brings up a question that has had almost as many answers as respondents. What is the relationship between the Islamo-Nazi ideology and network first established by al Husseini and the entire Muslim world? Are the Islamo-Nazis merely fringe elements representing small parts of Islam? or are they the true representatives of the entire Islamic world? For this writer it appears that the truth may lie in an historical analogy, which is appropriate, given the life led by Hitler's Mufti. There is a direct parallel between the relationship of Nazi ideology to German nationalism and that of Islamo-Nazi thought and action to the Muslim religion as a whole.

While Islamo-Nazism does not yet dominate and command the entire Muslim world as,say, Nazism did in Germany, a comprehensive understanding of its roots and sources is imperative if the civilized world is ultimately going to defeat it. Dillon and Rothman's book goes a long way in helping to develop this understanding. There are two weaknesses in the book that ought to b corrected in later editions. 1) the strict chronological structure of al Husseini's history that appears in the latter part of the book is somewhat muddled by backtracking and repetition, a flaw calling for tighter organization. In addition, those who do not have a fairly extensive knowledge of Middle Eastern affairs, as this writer does (having earned an MA w/ emphasis in Middle Eastern studies) may find the going somewhat difficult as the authors assume the reader is already well informed about many salient facts and issues in Middle Eastern politics and history.

But despite these weaknesses, the authors make a valuable contribution to knowledge about a little known, but important subject. China's famous philosopher and strategist, Sun Tsu, in his classic tract on war, said: "Know Self, Know Enemy. Thousand Battles, Thousand Victories!" Dillon and Rothman have provided us all a help to the Know Enemy part of this mandate. CPR

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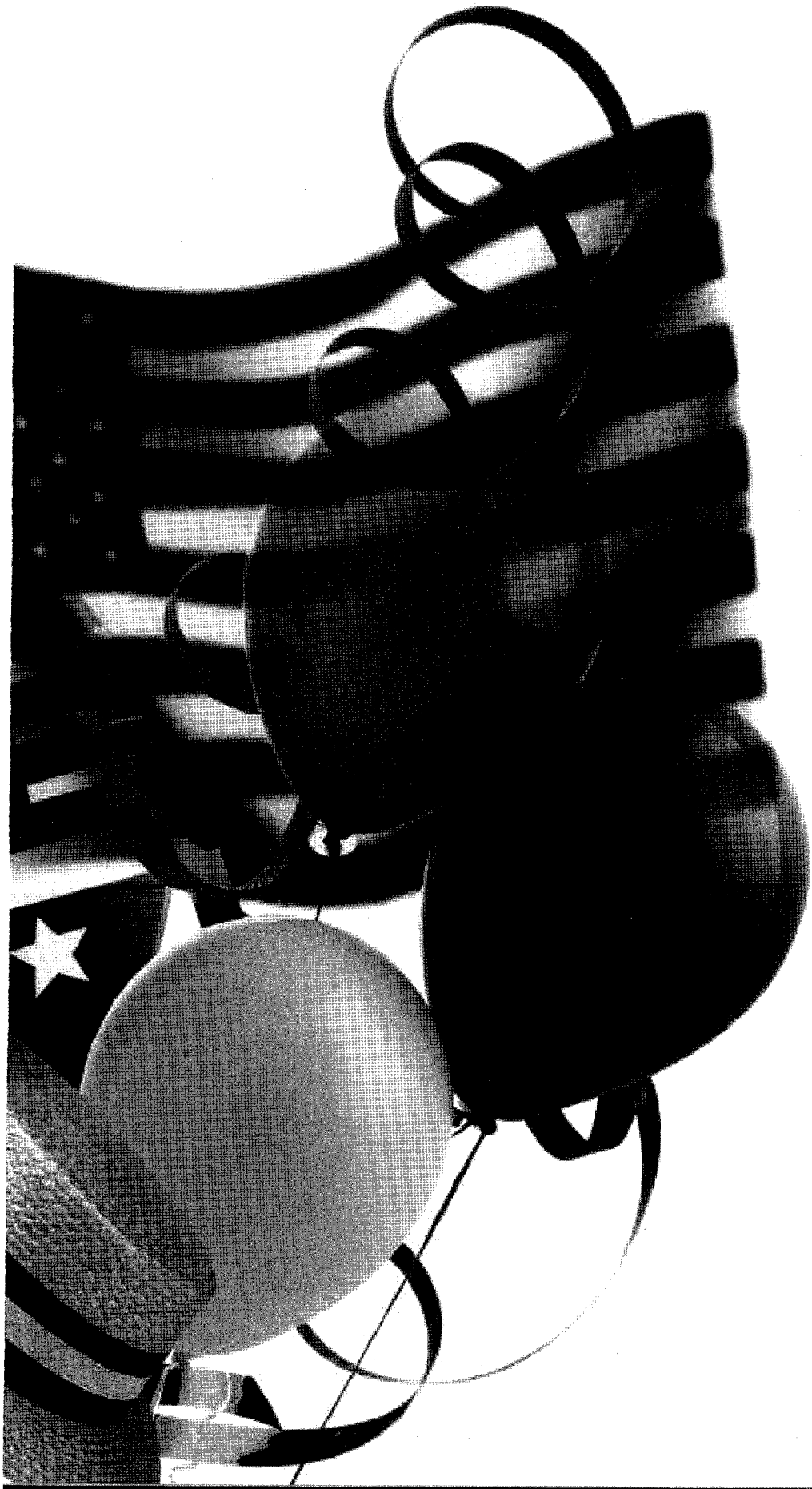

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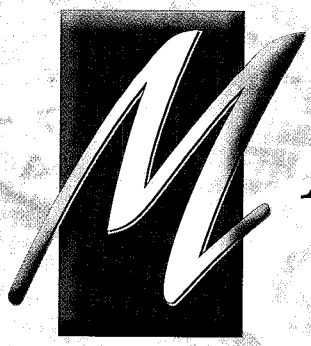

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